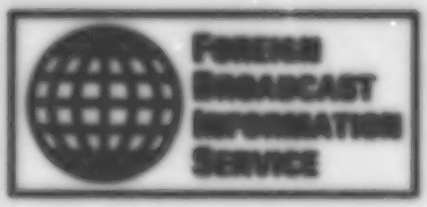

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Inter-Arab Affairs

Cordon States Conclude Talks in Cairo

'Arafat at Meeting

NC2412132092 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The foreign ministers of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan and the political adviser of the Palestinian president held a meeting in Cairo today attended by members of the delegations of the five countries concerned with the peace process.

At the beginning of the meeting, Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa delivered a speech in which he said that this meeting is being held in difficult circumstances in the Arab region as a result of Israel's decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories. He said that the meeting is being held to coordinate Arab positions and study the deteriorating situation in the area as a result of Israel's decision to deport the Palestinians. He added that a closed meeting will be held to approve the agenda.

The five officials held a closed meeting during which they studied the situation resulting from Israel's decision to deport the Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories.

Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat joined the meeting of the Arab foreign ministers. Foreign Minister Musa expressed his pleasure with the Palestinian president's attendance at the meeting. He said he is looking forward to listening to what he has to say in this meeting in light of the serious current situation.

Ministers Demand UN Action

JN2412174192 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Mustafa Bakri dispatch from Cairo]

[Text] The Arab cordon states have sent an urgent message to the United Nations demanding that the Security Council issue a fresh resolution to implement its previous resolution that asked Israel to return the Palestinian deportees to their land. The ministers also asked the Security Council's permanent member states, particularly the United States and Russia, to intervene and implement this resolution forthwith.

At the conclusion of their meeting in Cairo at noon today, the ministers announced that they will continue the peace process and affirmed their eagerness to promote it and rob Israel of the opportunity to destroy it. They also denounced Israel's practices in the occupied territory and affirmed that the deportation decision contravenes all international norms and conventions. They praised Lebanon's stand, which refuses to assist Israel in its policy of emptying the occupied territories of their inhabitants.

Palestinian president 'Arafat, who attended the meeting, asked the Arab League to convene an emergency meeting of Arab foreign ministers to discuss ways of confronting the Israeli decision, which he described as a crime that has unmasked the ugly face of Yitzhaq Rabin, who had been trying to polish it ever since becoming Israeli prime minister. 'Arafat said that the Palestinian leadership has decided to respond to the Israeli decision by escalating the intifadah and the resistance until the Palestinian flag is raised over Jerusalem, despite Rabin, who according to 'Arafat made a mistake with his decision and will pay the price for it.

Final Statement Issued

NC2412180692 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1750 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—The foreign ministers of the five Arab states concerned with the Middle East peace process concluded their meeting at 1800 today. Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa read the final statement that was issued by the meeting. [passage omitted]

The following is the text of the statement:

At the request of the Lebanese Republic and the PLO, and at the invitation of the foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the Arab parties participating in the bilateral peace talks, the foreign ministers of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Lebanese Republic, and Palestine held a meeting in Cairo on 24 December to discuss Israel's decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians collectively from the occupied Palestinian territories to the occupied Lebanese territories, as well as the developments in the Middle East peace process, and the Israeli measure's impact on this process. Some members of the Arab delegations to the bilateral peace talks participated in the meeting.

His Excellency Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat attended part of the meeting and reviewed the effects of the forcible deportation decision on the peace process. He expressed his thanks to the participating states, especially Lebanon, for the brave and wise steps they have adopted on the deportees issue.

Their excellencies the ministers discussed the Israeli Government's recent decision to forcibly expel more than 400 Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories. They strongly condemned this arbitrary measure, as well as Israel's resorting to collective punitive measures against the Palestinians in the occupied territories in serious violation of international charters and practices, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention. Paragraph 1 of Article 49 of this Convention specifically prohibits the deportation of displaced persons under occupation from their territories to any other territories, regardless of the motives involved.

The ministers called on Israel to respect international legality and comply with the fact that the Fourth Geneva

Convention applies to the Palestinian and Arab territories, including holy Jerusalem, occupied since 5 June 1967. They also stressed the need for Israel to implement Security Council Resolution 799 of 18 December 1992, which called on Israel to secure the full and immediate return of the deportees to their homes in the occupied Arab territories. They held Israel responsible for any threat against the health or lives of the deportees, who were forcibly expelled to occupied Lebanese territories located beyond Lebanese control. They voiced their support for the Lebanese Government's decision regarding the deportees, which denied Israel the chance to continue such unjust measures.

The ministers called on the international community to shoulder its responsibility toward Israel's intransigence and its refusal to implement Security Council Resolution 799 in view of the dangerous consequences for the peace process. They called on the Security Council to shoulder its responsibility and act quickly to implement its resolution by adopting a mechanism and setting a timetable for implementation that would guarantee the deportees' return to their lands and homes. In the event Israel does not carry this out, the Security Council should reconvene to adopt the measures stipulated in the UN Charter regarding its refusal to implement this resolution. They called on the UN secretary general to keep his envoy in the occupied territories to supervise the return of the deportees.

The ministers appealed to the United States and Russia—the cosponsors of the peace conference—to guarantee the safe and immediate return of all the deportees to the occupied Palestinian territories to ensure the resumption of the peace talks in accordance with the basis on which the peace process is founded.

The ministers reviewed the course of the eighth round of talks along all tracks and emphasized the importance of achieving peace in the region on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the land-for-peace principle, recognition of the Palestinian people's national rights, and full Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967—including holy Jerusalem as well as Lebanese territories—in accordance with Security Council Resolution 425. They voiced their adherence to the Arab principles and firm stands, as expressed in the previous coordination meetings, particularly the Damascus statement issued on 25 July 1992.

The ministers agreed that the Egyptian foreign minister will notify the cosponsors of the peace conference, the president of the Security Council, the UN secretary general, and the Arab League secretary general of the results of the meeting. They also agreed to keep the matter under constant debate among them. The ministers agreed to hold the coming Arab coordination meeting in Damascus.

Lebanon's Buwayz Comments

NC2412190992 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1800 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz left Cairo this evening for home after attending the meetings of the foreign ministers of the Arab states concerned with the Middle East peace process.

Speaking before departure, Buwayz described the meeting as positive, marked by a sense of Arab solidarity demonstrated through the decisions made. The participants, he added, insisted on the need to implement the Security Council resolution related to the expulsion of the Palestinians. Buwayz added that the conferees stressed the need to establish a mechanism for implementing this resolution within a specific period, following which the Security Council would reconvene to impose the sanctions necessary to enforce its resolution. He noted that the conferees stressed the danger behind the expulsion decision and its impact on the peace talks, emphasizing the need for the world community to move to ensure the implementation of its resolutions and safeguard its credibility.

Asked if there was a proposal during the meeting to withdraw from the peace talks, Buwayz said the activity in the coming stage will be determined by what action the Security Council and the world community take regarding the expulsion decision. He added that he who believes he has embarrassed Lebanon with the expulsion issue today will bear the responsibility for whatever may happen to the deportees. I believe, he added, that backing down from the expulsion decision—in accordance with the Security Council resolution—is the only way for Israel to get out of the problem in which it has put itself and the peace talks.

PLO's Qaddumi Comments

NC2412185892 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1818 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—PLO Political Department Director Faruq Qaddumi, who chaired the Palestinian delegation to the meetings of the Arab countries concerned with peace in the Middle East, which concluded in Cairo this evening, has stressed that the PLO will continue its efforts in all international forums and institutions, beginning with the United Nations and the Security Council and ending with the nonaligned countries, the Islamic Conference Organization countries, and Arab countries to resolve the crisis of the Palestinian deportees.

In a statement today, Qaddumi stressed the need to return the deportees to their homes. He said that the Palestinians cannot resume the peace negotiations unless these deportees are returned. He said: We have taken measures and we will see what can be done. The Arab countries will adopt stands in light of these measures and their outcome. He pointed out that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab countries concerned with

peace was positive. He emphasized that the meeting demonstrated an Arab position supportive of the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian people's right to regain all their rights.

Musa Briefs Mubarak

NC2412191392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1858 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has stated that he informed President Husni Mubarak this evening of the results of the Cairo meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab states concerned with the Middle East peace process. Musa noted that acting on the recommendation of the Arab ministers during their meeting today, he sent two messages on the outcome of the meeting to UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali and Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid.

Arab League Sources Praise Resolution on Deportees

NC2712160392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1427 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—A responsible source at the Arab League has affirmed that the Israeli defiance in not implementing Security Council Resolution 799 on the issue of the Palestinian deportees is directed at the whole world, not only the Arabs.

The source said that Yitzhaq Rabin's credibility is being put to the test right now. The source said that Israel's objective behind the deportation decision is to test the Arab stand, especially after feeling that there is a political vacuum in the current U.S. Administration.

In an exclusive statement to MENA today, the source praised the resolutions by the Arab cordon states, which recently held their meetings in Cairo, especially the resolution on the return of the Palestinian deportees to the occupied Palestinian territories.

The source clarified that the cordon states' resolutions linked the peace process to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 799, which indicates that the Arab side wants peace and that Israel's credibility regarding the peace process depends on implementing this resolution. He praised Egypt's great role in mobilizing Arab and international public opinion in this field.

The source also praised the final statement issued at the conclusion of the cordon states' meetings and said that it proves the unity of the Arabs in the face of these indiscriminate Israeli measures.

January Meeting Possible

NC2712122492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1212 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid has stated that he held contacts with the Arab foreign ministers regarding Palestine's request to hold an emergency meeting of the Arab League to discuss Israel's decision to deport 418 Palestinians from the occupied territories.

'Abd-al-Majid said that he sent a memorandum to the Arab foreign ministers today to sound out their opinion on the date of the meeting.

MENA has learned that the meeting may be held during the first 10 days of January.

Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria To Discuss Terrorism

NC2512204592 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2020 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 25 Dec (MENA)—In its 26 December edition, the weekly newspaper AKHBAR AL-YAWM reports that the foreign ministers of Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria will hold a meeting in January. The newspaper says the foreign ministers will coordinate their stands and consult on security topics, especially those dealing with the export of terrorism to these states.

Palestinian Affairs

Reportage on Palestinian Leadership Talks in Tunis

Hamas Delegation Arrives

NC2312175592 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1702 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Tunis, 23 Dec (MENA)—A Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] delegation arrived in Tunis from Amman this evening for talks with Palestinian officials, including Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat, on strengthening the unity of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories. The delegation, which will start its talks with the Palestinian leaders tonight, will also discuss the issue of the Palestinian deportees and ways of strengthening the Palestinian intifadah.

The four-member delegation consists of Hamas political bureau head Musa Abu-Marzuq, Hamas official spokesman Ibrahim Ghawshah, Hamas representative in Amman Muhammad Nazzal, and Hamas representative in Tehran 'Imad al-Qalami.

Hamas To Urge Talks Withdrawal

LD2412135992 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 24 Dec 92 p 3

[Report by Nizar Dawu al-Na'im: "Marzuq Tells AL-HAYAH: In Tunis We Will Call for Unity on Basis of Withdrawal From Negotiations"]

[Text] London—Dr. Musa Marzuq, chairman of the Political Bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas and head of the Hamas delegation to the Tunis meeting, has told AL-HAYAH that during the meeting

his delegation will demand escalation of Arab and Islamic pressure on Israel to stop the occupation authorities' recent onslaught and return the deportees, and it will urge unity of Palestinian ranks against that onslaught "on the basis of withdrawal" of the PLO from the peace negotiations.

In a telephone interview with AL-HAYAH from Damascus, he said that the latest events—the large-scale arrests, the deportees issue, and the various pressures by the occupation authorities, "in addition to the attempts made by some parties represented in the Israeli Government to pressure Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin into opening a dialogue with the PLO—have made it imperative for everyone to surmount the current phase and to attend the Tunis meetings to unite Palestinian ranks in the face of the Israeli campaign against one trend in the interest of another, and to prove that in facing the enemy there are no trends and that all the Palestinian people are united against the enemy."

He confirmed that Hamas representatives at the meetings Engineer Ibrahim Ghawshah, Muhammad Nazzal, and 'Imad al-'Alami "will call for an intensification of Arab and Islamic pressure for the return of the deportees and unification of Palestinian ranks against the Israeli onslaught and the full curfew imposed on Gaza and the entire strip."

He emphasized that a unified Palestinian position would be achieved "if the PLO corrected the mistake of joining the peace negotiations and if it withdrew from the negotiations." He added that the position of Hamas on that issue "is clear and not negotiable" and that the way to achieve a unified political position for the Palestinian people and their various factions "is for the PLO to withdraw from the negotiations." He said that "a continuation of the current PLO position would impede Palestinian unity of ranks because the negotiations are the direct cause of disunity."

He stressed, however, that the Tunis meetings would not stop if that is not achieved "because the main issue there is that of the deportees and the conditions they are suffering at the moment, as well the issue of the explosive situation in the occupied territory." He said that the issue of the negotiations "is a peripheral one at this meeting, and each party could maintain its position."

He rejected the call to join the "Unified National Leadership" of the intifadah. He said that "the Unified National Leadership of the intifadah consists of PLO factions. The clearer way of achieving unity is for everyone to unite under the slogan of opposition to the negotiations."

On the talk of the existence of a moderate trend represented by the PLO and an extremist trend represented by Hamas, Marzuq said that "there is no moderation in the face of any enemy that affirms that the Palestinian people have no right to their land. The issue is that right and not the moderation of one party or extremism of another." He added that "that is why the confrontation is between the Israeli enemy and all factions of the Palestinian people, including extremists and moderates."

He urged the Palestinian leaders to "take into consideration the feelings of the people and the fact that the enemy is one and the same. Claims of conflict and mutual recriminations against other factions would make the Israeli enemy more intransigent and result in the loss rather than confirmation of the Palestinian people's rights."

Hamas 'Not an Alternative' to PLO

JN2412163092 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 24 Dec 92 p 22

[By Nabil 'Amr]

[Text] Palestinian political quarters expect today's expanded Palestinian leadership meeting in Tunis—the meeting which will bring together the PLO Executive Committee, secretaries general of the PLO-affiliated factions, the Fatah Central Committee, and a delegation from the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, which will be participating in such a meeting for the first time—to lay down sound foundations for national Palestinian unity. This unity constitutes a basic framework for confronting the Zionist occupation inside and outside occupied Palestine, as well as the challenges of the hostile forces which aim to liquidate the Palestine question.

'Abbas Zaki, member of the Fatah Central Committee, who left for Tunis yesterday accompanied by the Hamas delegation, announced that the principles of the mutual agreement with Hamas were reached after the Hamas Movement had responded—before heading for Tunis—to three questions presented by the Fatah Movement. The following are the questions and Hamas' answers:

[Question] Are you an alternative to the PLO?

[Answer] No, we are not an alternative to the PLO.

[Question] Are you a Palestinian liberation movement or an Islamic preaching and guidance movement?

[Answer] We are an Islamic liberation movement with Islamic dimensions. This does not contradict the PLO's policy, but constitutes strong support for its struggle and that of the Palestinian people.

[Question] Do you believe in armed struggle?

[Answer] Yes, we believe in armed struggle.

In his statement, Zaki said that the Hamas Movement considers itself part of the PLO and works to join its institutions, adding that this matter is subject to discussion and dialogue.

In another development, well-informed Palestinian sources told AL-DUSTUR that a Palestinian delegation left for Tunis with a report from occupied Palestine on the memorandum of understanding between the Unified Leadership

of the Intifadah [UNLI] and Hamas. He added that the report also notes that Hamas would join the UNLI. He said that the conferees will discuss in Tunis today activating the role of the UNLI and giving it more power to define the militant strategic features and Palestinian political action with regard to the peace process.

The same sources noted that contacts and consultations are underway with various Palestinian factions, which, together with Hamas, comprise the opposition forces and most of which are based in Damascus, to incorporate them into the ongoing Palestinian leadership meetings. The sources said that there is an intention to hold an expanded Palestinian meeting that would include the members of the Palestine National Council [PNC], the Hamas Movement, and the 10 other factions, known as the rejectionist front, in hopes of reorganizing the PNC. The sources said that a preparatory committee will be formed to convene the PNC along new lines so that all the Palestinian factions, including Hamas, will join the PNC. The sources said that if a final formula is reached it will be possible to resolve the problem of appointing 186 members to the expected PNC.

Dr. Musa Abu-Marzuq, chief of the Political Bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, said—in a statement before leaving for Tunis yesterday morning at the head of a Hamas delegation to the meeting of the Palestinian leadership—that Hamas' stand on the issue of deportees is firm and unshakeable. He added that Hamas insists on the return of all deportees—the symbols and leaders of our people—to their occupied homeland. Until this is achieved, the heroic deportees will remain in their positions, regardless of the conditions they may face.

Dr. Abu-Marzuq noted that the issue of the deportees will top the agenda at the Tunis meeting. He added that the Hamas Movement is very interested in entrenching national Palestinian unity among the factions of the Palestinian people. He stressed that Hamas will call for complete withdrawal from the [Arab-Israeli] negotiations because this is the minimum response to the brutal Zionist onslaught against our people, to the ironfisted policy, and to the policy of deportation and displacement to which terrorist Rabin has resorted.

Hamas Suggests 4 Points at Talks

JN2512113392 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Muhammad Karaysheh dispatch from Tunis]

[Text] The Palestinian leadership will resume its meetings in Tunis today under the chairmanship of Yasir 'Arafat, who has returned from Cairo where he participated in the meeting of the foreign ministers of the confrontation states.

Today's meeting will continue to discuss the ideas presented over the past two days by Fatah and Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]. The Hamas delegation to the Tunis meeting had suggested four points. The first is related to the PLO's adoption of the issue of the deportees on the political, media, and humanitarian levels, and its insisting on their return to their homeland or staying where they are now. The second point concerns withdrawal from the negotiations, while the third and fourth points deal with escalating the intifadah and armed struggle and enhancing national unity by reconsidering the current PLO structures and institutions.

Some Palestinian sources here point out that although the Hamas Movement still insists on its position toward the peace negotiations, it does not insist in particular on linking its coordination with the Palestinian leadership or the possibility of its joining the PLO institutions with a change in the leadership's position toward the current peace process.

The sources noted that this stance on the part of Hamas is due to the Hamas leadership's eagerness to give precedence to the issue of the deportees and the escalation of the intifadah, considering the practical and political requirements involved, particularly coordination with president 'Arafat's leadership.

Officials Cited on Tunis Meetings

JN2612190392 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The current meetings continue in Tunis between the Palestinian leadership and a delegation from the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, and representatives from other Palestinian factions opposed to the peace process, with discussions reportedly being held in an atmosphere ranging from positive to negative. While some reports speak of limited rapprochement between the PLO leadership and Hamas, which may reflect positively on inter-Palestinian relations, 'Abd-al-Rahim Mallah, member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Political Bureau, notes that differences in opinions over the peace process, from which Hamas demands an immediate and complete withdrawal, may reflect negatively on such a rapprochement.

Hamas has asked all Palestinian political forces and factions to agree on a five-point working program. Major points in this plan include complete withdrawal from the peace talks, escalation of the intifadah, resorting to armed struggle to face the occupation, setting Hamas' conditions for joining PLO institutions, and providing support to the Palestinian deportees.

Regarding this last point, the Palestinian higher committee on the deportees met in Tunis today under Yasir 'Arafat. The committee agreed on a working program to contact UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali as part of the committee's efforts to mobilize Arab and world public opinion to cancel the Israeli deportation measure and guarantee the deportees' return.

Awaiting the outcome of these expanded meetings, expected to end tomorrow, Sunday, especially regarding

the point calling for total withdrawal from negotiations with Israel—the PLO has announced that it will suspend its participation in those negotiations until the Israeli deportation of 415 Palestinians is reversed, but there was no similar Arab position expressed during the recent five-party meeting in Cairo—attention is now focused on the Tunis meetings. Major topics discussed in these meetings are outlined for us by 'Abdallah Hurani, PLO Executive committee member and head of the PLO Culture Department, in an interview with our Tunis correspondent Muhammad Kurayshan. This is 'Abdallah Hurani speaking about the Tunis discussions:

[Begin Hurani recording] These subjects fell, more or less, within four major areas. The first concerns the position on the issue of the deportees and how to tackle it. The second concerns escalating the intifadah and adopting measures and setting up frameworks to help escalate the intifadah and all means of struggle within it. The third point concerns the position on the peace process—namely, whether or not to continue with it and how to deal with the talks. The fourth point concerns the issue of national unity and Hamas' entry into PLO bodies.

I cannot say that agreement has been reached on all these points. However, agreement was reached to consider these issues as the major topics for a national dialogue. There are two opposing viewpoints, or, in other words, there are two extreme viewpoints; one that champions the continuation of the peace process under all circumstances, and another that demands immediate withdrawal and refusal to ?enter) into peace talks under any circumstances. This latter view is based on the fact that 14 months have now passed since the start of negotiations and we have yet to achieve any tangible results. This is a fact and is acknowledged by our negotiating team and international observers. Still, I think that the general trend, or the prevailing opinion if you will—but this does not mean that the prevailing opinion will triumph—is based on the Palestinian popular mood, which, we must admit, has now become unenthusiastic about the negotiating process. [end recording]

PLO's Hurani Interviewed

JN2612210092 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1940 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Interview with 'Abdallah Hurani, PLO Executive Committee member and head of the PLO Culture Department, by Muhammad Kurayshan in Tunis, carried within the "Today's Guest" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kurayshan] You are welcome Mr. 'Abdallah Hurani, member of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the PLO Culture Department. In your capacity as a member of the Executive Committee you are attending the ongoing expanded meetings of the Palestinian leadership in Tunis. We would like to know what the atmosphere is like in these meetings.

[Hurani] I can say that from the beginning, the atmosphere in the meetings has been positive and calm. Dialogue in these meetings has been open. Nothing is preventing anyone from presenting their viewpoint the way they want. It is known that for the first time a Hamas leadership delegation is taking part in such meetings. This, in itself, is a positive factor. In my assessment, the Palestinian popular mood, both inside and outside the occupied territory, prevails and is in control of these meetings. This mood, in fact, is behind the presence of the Hamas Movement. This unifying mood, which prevails in the Palestinian arena now, is the result of two things: The first being the deportation of more than 400 Palestinian citizens from the cadres and leaders of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territory, and Israel's refusal to let them return. The second thing is the elapse of more than a year since the beginning of peace negotiations without any progress being achieved.

Hence, all parties have found that circumstances call for holding meetings and dialogue to crystallize and unite views—or at least close views. All parties have found that such meetings will reflect the popular mood calling on all Palestinian forces to meet, discuss matters, and achieve the best militant methods and forms to escalate the Palestinian struggle and achieve the Palestinian people's national rights.

[Kurayshan] Has any progress been achieved in these meetings, compared with their start and in light of their good atmosphere?

[Hurani] Yes, in terms of defining the topics of dialogue. These subjects fell, more or less, within four major areas. The first concerns the position on the issue of deportees and how to tackle it. The second point concerns escalating the intifadah and adopting measures and setting up frameworks to help escalate the intifadah and all means of struggle within it.

The third point concerns the position on the peace process; namely, whether or not to continue with it and how to deal with the talks. The fourth point concerns the issue of national unity and Hamas' entry into the PLO bodies.

I cannot say that agreement has been reached on all these points. However, agreement was reached to consider these issues as the major headlines for a national dialogue.

[Kurayshan] Your reference to the state of the negotiations raises a question as to the existence of differences among key Palestinian political players against the background of the expulsions, and Israel's adamant refusal to comply with the UN Security Council resolution. Has there been any shift in the Palestinian position on the peace process?

[Hurani] There are two opposing viewpoints, or, in other words, there are two extreme viewpoints, one that champions the continuation of the peace process under all circumstances, and another which demands immediate withdrawal and refusal to ?enter) into peace talks under any circumstances. This latter view is based on the fact

that 14 months have now passed since the start of negotiations and we have yet to achieve any tangible results. This is a fact and is acknowledged by our negotiating team and international observers. Still, I think that the general trend, or the prevailing opinion if you will—but this does not mean that the prevailing opinion will triumph—is based on the Palestinian popular mood, which, we must admit, has now become unenthusiastic about the negotiating process, given Israel's continued repression and ironfisted policies, and its refusal to do anything to clear the path of peace. It has to relent on the question of settlements, Jerusalem, sovereignty over the land, and the mass expulsions.

Against the background of the negotiating process marking time, Israel's continued intransigence, and the failure of the U.S. Administration or the international community to bring any pressure to bear on Israel to make concessions in the political process, the present Palestinian popular mood favors its discontinuation. This is not to say that the Palestinians are hostile to the negotiating process, rather they want the terms of the process improved, especially given that a new U.S. Administration will soon take office—an administration other than the one with which we worked out the terms of the peace process, and let us admit that these terms were less than fair in our changing world. We are not happy with these unfair terms. Secondly, the ('hawks) of Shamir that began the negotiating process with us have fallen from power. We, therefore, have to suspend the negotiating process and seek better terms.

There is another issue now, namely that of the deportees, which is not only a test for the Israeli Government and its intentions toward the peace process, but also for the U.S. Administration and the UN Security Council. If Israel refuses to be bound by a resolution passed barely a week ago—the deportees resolution—how can we possibly expect it to comply with decades-old resolutions, including Resolution 242, which calls for its evacuation from the occupied Arab territories.

[Kurayshan] Many thanks to PLO Executive Committee member 'Abdallah Hurani.

Talks Final Statement Issued

JN2712201092 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1720 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Muhammad Kurayshan dispatch from Tunis]

[Text] The final statement issued this afternoon at the end of the Palestinian leadership's meeting in Tunis stressed the need to repatriate the Palestinian deportees, affirming this is the only solution to this issue. The statement also notes the need to escalate the intifadah to confront the Israeli occupation while no agreement was reached on a common stand among all the parties on the peace negotiations.

The final statement issued at the end of the Palestinian leadership's meeting in Tunis, which was attended by a Hamas delegation, focused in an eye-catching manner on the issue of the deportees. Approximately half of the statement was devoted to this issue. It is obvious that such emphasis is due not only to the importance of the issue of the deportees on the political and humanitarian level, but also because it is the basic issue on which agreement was reached.

The second point on which agreement was reached was the escalation of the intifadah and taking care of national unity and the unity of the Palestinian people in and outside the occupied territories on the basis of confronting the occupation with all the forms and methods of jihad, as the statement says.

The statement issued, after five days of meetings, does not, in any way, deal with the reports that Hamas could join the PLO institutions while it points to the differences of opinion on the peace negotiations. Hamas and the parties rejecting these negotiations were careful to incorporate their opposing stands in the text of the statement itself.

Therefore, the confrontation of the deportation decision and the escalation of the intifadah were the two major tasks on which all the factions reached agreement without any reservations. As for the other issues, what is important is what was mentioned at the end of the statement: that all agreed to pursue their contacts and their dialogue.

Hamas Says Results 'Almost Nil'

JN2712103092 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Dec 92 pp 1, 17

[By Riyad Mansur]

[Text] Amman—Engineer Ibrahim Ghawshah, official spokesman for the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, has strongly denounced the remarks attributed to Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat calling on the Israeli authorities to detain and execute the killer of the Zionist so-called border guard Nissim Toledano.

Reached by telephone in Tunis yesterday, Ghawshah categorically denied a press statement to the effect that the Palestinian leadership has reached an agreement with Hamas in this regard.

Eng. Ghawshah told SAWT AL-SHA'B that he has not previously heard the Fatah leader asking the Israelis to execute one of his movement's elements for killing an Israeli soldier.

Responding to a question on the results of Hamas' meeting with the Palestinian leadership, Eng. Ghawshah affirmed that the results until after yesterday's meeting, which lasted for five heated hours, are almost nil.

He said that in their remarks and responses to the Palestinian leadership and some members of the negotiating Palestinian delegation taking part in the meetings, Hamas and the Palestinian factions opposed to the peace

process focused on the idea that the peace negotiations are not in the interest of the Palestinian people, and that it is high time a decision to pull out of these negotiations was made.

The Hamas official spokesman affirmed that some Fatah leaders have strongly refused to withdraw from the negotiations. He explained that Hamas «will never abandon its demand for withdrawal from the negotiations, no matter what that might cost. He said this is because the Palestinian territory is an Islamic endowment and it is impermissible for anyone in whatever capacity to relinquish or compromise over this territory.

Eng. Ghawshah said that the Hamas delegation, which is led by Dr. Musa Abu-Marzuq, head of the movement's political bureau, submitted to the Palestinian leadership a five-point memorandum, which was the subject of detailed discussions.

On the contents of these points, he said that they were presented by Hamas in the form of a joint action program. The program stresses the need to support the deportees' decision to stay in the "al-'Awdah [Return] Camp" until they return to their homeland and people, regardless of the cost. The program also stresses the need to curb any attempt to move them from their camp to any destination other than occupied Palestine.

He explained that the program also calls for a final and immediate withdrawal from the negotiations. It also calls for cohesion with the Palestinian, Arab, and Islamic masses, considering that such forces constitute our basic support in our faithful battle. The program also calls for escalating and promoting the intifadah and for agreeing on a joint militant program for the intifadah activities in order to maintain its momentum and popularity because the intifadah is an irrevocable popular option.

Eng. Ghawshah said: We have called for a national dialogue inclusive of all Palestinian forces based on the previous demands for bolstering national unity, ending the state of divisions that has been exacerbated by the negotiations, and rebuilding the PLO in accordance with new bases that guarantee the organization's representation of all effective sections of the Palestinian people.

The official spokesman for the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, affirmed that some Fatah leaders have approved four out of the five points, while the fifth point (calling for withdrawal from the peace talks) has been excluded.

Hamas Rejects Bid To Transfer Deportees to Europe

NC2513172492 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1645 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] The problem of the Palestinian deportees has entered its second week without any sign of a solution despite the continuing efforts to find one.

A noteworthy development today was a report about a European proposal to transfer the Palestinian deportees to a European country. Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] disclosed in Amman that it has rejected a European proposal conveyed to it by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to transfer the Palestinian deportees to Europe.

A Hamas statement, reported by AFP, said that 'Arafat conveyed this proposal during a meeting between a Hamas delegation and the PLO leadership in Tunis. Hamas asserted that there can be no alternative to the deportee's return to their country, and until this is done, they will remain where they are now despite the hardships. It announced that their entry into Lebanese territory or transfer to a European country is out of the question.

Further on Hamas Rejection

JN2512175492 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] In Amman, the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, has announced that it has rejected a European proposal conveyed to it by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. The proposal had the Palestinians deported by Israel being transferred to Norway and the Netherlands. Hamas said that there is no alternative to the deportees returning to their homeland and people, and that until this is realized they will remain where they are, despite the difficult circumstances they are facing. The Hamas statement said that the deportees' entry into Lebanese territory or their transfer to any European country is out of the question.

On another level, in an interview held in Cairo, Yasir 'Arafat told the Israeli newspaper MA'ARIV that the killer of the Israeli policeman should have been arrested and executed. We are in agreement with the Hamas movement in this regard because this act contradicts with Islam, 'Arafat said.

'Arafat said that deportation is ten times harsher than the action carried out by a few individuals who killed a soldier. He asked Israel to place the deportees in prison for as long as it wants.

Norway, Netherlands Deny Offer

NC2613064092 Paris AFP in English 2224 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Amman, Dec 25 (AFP)—The radical Palestinian resistance movement Hamas said Friday it had rejected an offer by European countries to transfer more than 400 Palestinian deportees from a no-man's land in Lebanon to Europe.

The offer to take the 415 deportees expelled by Israel to a snowy no-man's land in southern Lebanon last week to Europe was transmitted by Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir 'Arafat at a joint meeting in Tunis, a Hamas statement said.

Israel expelled the Palestinians linked to the Hamas and Islamic Jihad organizations for not more than two years, after Hamas claimed it killed five Israeli soldiers, including the kidnap and subsequent murder of a border guard, earlier this month.

The PLO and Hamas have met in the Tunisian capital since Wednesday for their first talks since the Middle East peace process got off the ground 14 months ago.

"The Netherlands and Norway are prepared to welcome the deportees if Israel continues to oppose their return to the occupied territories and if Lebanon continues to deny them asylum on its territory," the PLO leader reportedly told Hamas.

(The Norwegian Foreign Ministry in Oslo told AFP the Norwegian battalion in the United Nations forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was ready to help Hamas deportees by providing transport or food under the aegis of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

(However a spokesman for the ministry would not confirm that Norway and the Netherlands had offered to take in the deportees, saying he had "not heard any such rumors.")

[Paris AFP in English at 0142 GMT on 26 December reports further on this issue: "A Netherlands Foreign Ministry spokesman in The Hague denied the Netherlands had made any such offer, saying 'We are unaware of any such offer. We never made it.'"]

Hamas said "there is no other solution (to the deportee crisis) than the return of the refugees to their homeland," adding they could very well stay where they are in spite of their difficulties.

PLO Denies Conveying Proposal

LD2612124392 Tunis TAP in Arabic 1117 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tunis, 26 Dec (TAP)—A Palestinian spokesman has affirmed that there is no truth whatsoever in what was announced by the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, about a European proposal that Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat was supposed to have conveyed providing for the transfer of the Palestinian deportees to two European countries in the case of Israel's refusal to repatriate them to the occupied territories.

Hamas had announced [words indistinct] that President 'Arafat had conveyed this proposal to the recent meeting of the Palestinian leadership in Tunis which was also attended by representatives of Hamas, and that the proposal expresses the readiness of the Netherlands and Norway to accept the 415 Palestinians deported by Israel eight days ago [words indistinct]

The Palestinian news agency, WAFA, yesterday evening quoted the Palestinian spokesman as saying: "It is regrettable that such reports were being propagated at a time when President 'Arafat and the Palestinian leadership have been exerting their utmost efforts at various levels in defense of the Palestinian deportees' right to return to their homeland [words indistinct]." The spokesman added that the truth of the matter was that [words indistinct] during the Palestinian leadership meeting that the PLO has rejected some ideas received from some European sources which wanted to deal with the question of the brother deportees only as a humanitarian issue, affirming that the PLO has insisted on these deportees' right to return to their homeland. [passage indistinct]

'Arafat Interviewed on Deportations, Peace Talks

TA2712124792 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 27 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat by Dan Avidan in Cairo on 24 December; also present are Dr. Nabil Sha'th, 'Arafat's political adviser; Sa'id Kamal, the PLO's ambassador to Egypt; and Dr. Ahmad al-Tibi, a prominent Israeli Arab]

[Text] [Avidan] What do you think about the expulsion of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] men?

['Arafat] Unfortunately, it invalidates the Koranic verse "the people of Moses are a people who tread the path of truth and follow the path of justice." Through the deportations Rabin invalidated what this verse says about all Israelis, not about all Jews, since 92 percent of the Israeli public supported the deportations which are a war crime. You, Jews who suffered Nazi crimes, why are you doing this to our people and our land?

[Avidan] But border policeman Nisim Toledano was murdered in cold blood by Hamas. The government had to react to such a murder, not to mention that the Israeli public was outraged about it!

['Arafat] That was not the way. I would have caught the murderer of the soldier (the border policeman) and killed him! As you know, Islam bans the execution of a prisoner. Hamas itself has admitted that the murder of the soldier was a mistake; even Ahmad Yasin said as much.

[Avidan] So why did they kill Staff Sergeant Major Toledano in cold blood?

['Arafat] For Allah's sake, a crime was committed. Does that mean that 1,500 people must be arrested and 415 of them deported in retribution? The murder of the soldier contradicts the precepts of Islam, but the punishment for the crime—that is, the deportations—was 100 times more severe. Toledano was murdered by a few men, but the deportations were carried out by a responsible government which talks about making peace in the region.

[Avidan] Did they commit the murder of their own accord?

['Arafat] Absolutely. Who did it in the end? Some thug! But the crime (the deportations) that was committed is far more severe.

[Avidan] Do the Palestinians insist on their position not to go back to the negotiations unless the deportees are returned?

['Arafat] The Palestinian leadership is currently deliberating on the issue. We discussed it today with the five permanent members of the Security Council, and we will raise it again at the emergency session of all the Arab foreign ministers, and on 15 January at the meeting of the Islamic Conference foreign ministers—all this at our initiative, because the deportations are the crime of this generation.

[Avidan] How can the negotiations continue nevertheless?

['Arafat] Return the deportees!

[Avidan] But Prime Minister Rabin cannot return them after he decided to deport them. What can be done in order to go ahead with the negotiations nevertheless?

['Arafat] Nothing can be done. You must return them. You already have 24,000 Palestinian detainees, so put the deportees in jail with them. How come Rabin gave an order to open fire at the deportees when they tried to go back to their homes through the security zone? Four of them were wounded, one of them seriously and he is being treated by doctors of the Palestinian Red Crescent at my instructions. He is hospitalized in a Lebanese hospital. Even if he ordered to aim the fire 500 meters away from the deportees, is it at all acceptable to fire at unarmed men from a higher ground? I know the area very well. Is that human? Is it not a disgrace? This is collective punishment, this is a war crime.

[Avidan] Let us look ahead: How do we go ahead with the negotiations?

['Arafat] Let Rabin return the deportees, put them back in jail, interrogate them, find who is responsible for the crime, and bring him to trial. If you do that, you will find that the murderers are not among the deportees.

[Avidan] If they are not returned will you continue to suspend the negotiations?

['Arafat] Were you in my shoes or in those of Haydar 'Abd-al- Shafi how would you feel toward the Palestinian masses? You would not be able to go ahead with the negotiations. You know that the masses are seething over the deportations. Not just them, also the Arabs and the international community. And, the same goes for Clinton who got 85 percent of the U.S. Jewish vote because of the influence of the Jewish lobby—he also denied the deportations, and so did U.S. Secretary of State Eagleburger because it is important for them that human rights be upheld everywhere in the world. The United Nations and its affiliated organizations denounced the deportations, and Secretary General Butrus-Ghali even sent a special envoy to Israel on the issue.

[Avidan] Still, how can the negotiations continue?

['Arafat] Why are you asking me that? After all, Rabin does not even recognize me. Anyway, to which Israeli group do you belong? I divide you into three groups: Those who voice opinions about Shamir, those who voice opinions about Rabin, and those who voice opinions about Peres. This is even evident in the negotiations. Although in the official meetings it is Elyaqim Rubinstein who talks, in the cafeteria there are three opinions: One about Shamir, one about Rabin, and one about Peres. Who should I believe?

[Avidan] Let me go back to the question of the negotiations. Can you be expected to soften your positions when the negotiations resume in order to start implementing the interim arrangement in the territories and later open negotiations about the permanent arrangement?

['Arafat] When Rabin rose to power I said that I would work to promote a political solution. How did he respond? With abuse! I did not abuse him, even though he is the enemy; I do not respond to him with abuse. But, Rabin is causing Israel to miss opportunities (for an arrangement). De Gaulle did not do what Rabin is doing. De Klerk (the South African president) is not doing what Rabin is doing. I thought Rabin would at least be like De Klerk, but unfortunately his mentality is that of a general, not of a politician.

[Avidan] Were you disappointed with Rabin?

['Arafat] I was never taken in by him. I will not forget that Rabin and Ari'el Sharon banned Mordekhay Gur from visiting me during the siege of Beirut. Rabin was the guest of Sharon in Beirut, and Sharon said in his presence: No pilgrimages to see 'Arafat! Rabin also criticized journalists Uri Avneri and Amnon Kapeliuk who visited me in besieged Beirut.

When Rabin was elected prime minister he talked about the need to attain peace. The public voted for this message, not for Rabin; they voted for peace and against the policy of Shamir and the Likud.

[Avidan] What is your reaction to the resolution the four Arab foreign ministers and the PLO representative adopted today in Cairo on the question of the deportations and the political negotiations?

['Arafat] The resolution is a positive step in the right direction.

[Avidan] But if I am not mistaken, you demanded a firmer Arab stand about the need to halt the negotiations with Israel as long as the deportees are not allowed to go back home.

['Arafat] It is not that bad. We cannot get everything we want in one session or in one (pan-Arab) meeting. The question of the deportees is currently on the agenda of the UN and of the Security Council and, as I said before, it will also be discussed in the next meeting of the Arab foreign ministers and in the meeting of the Islamic Conference foreign ministers. The problem also came up

in two meetings held by President Bush in Washington (at the end of the eighth round of talks) with two Palestinian delegations.

The most important meeting was the one between Bush and the second Palestinian delegation, the one composed of Kamil Mansur representing the diaspora; Faysal al-Husayni, who headed the delegation, and Hanan 'Ashrawi representing East Jerusalem; and Sa'ib 'Urayqat, a representative of the delegation negotiating with Israel. It was a U.S. message to Rabin that the United States does not (does no longer) agree to the formula of the Madrid conference. The last day of the talks Bush met a Palestinian delegation headed by Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi in keeping with the Madrid formula. The second meeting (between Bush and representatives of the Palestinian diaspora and of East Jerusalem) was held the next day, and this demonstrates that the United States agrees to a new formula whereby representatives of the Palestinian diaspora, East Jerusalem, and the territories take part in the negotiations. Does it make any sense at all that I should split my people?

[Avidan] But you present very rigid positions in the negotiations.

['Arafat] I would like to ask you: What do you think about the fact that in the last session Elyaqim Rubinstein submitted a plan (an arrangement) under the headline of Judaea and Samaria? Is that not a provocation? Later he said this is done so that we, Palestinians, may be educated by the Israelis. What right does he have to do that? How come Rabin does not reprimand him? Who is he to educate us?

[Sha'th] The Israeli delegation later retracted the term Judaea and Samaria.

['Arafat] That is arrogant! Where is the USSR's arrogance today? It has disappeared. (Switching to English) You cannot go on with such militant arrogance! A little more modesty! (He again quotes the Koranic verse about the Jews being a people seeking truth and justice) You must respect me. I am a human being. I am a "guy," that is true, but I am a human being!

[Avidan] Will you actually demand to change the Madrid formula when the negotiations resume?

['Arafat] That is the meaning of President Bush's meeting with the second Palestinian delegation, whose composition was agreed upon by myself and by President Bush. This is an official U.S. position. Bush is the President until 23 January 1993. We are considering all possibilities, be they minor or major, including replacing old formulas (on the representation of the Palestinians in the negotiations) with new ones. As far as we are concerned, such a change is possible.

[Avidan] Will you continue the negotiations at all?

['Arafat] (Replying in English) The issue is now under discussion. We have not yet reached a decision. The key is not in my hands, but in yours.

[Avidan] Why?

['Arafat] Rabin must do only one thing. Let him do what was agreed in the framework of President Bush's peace initiative.

[Avidan] But your demands in the negotiations pertain to the permanent arrangement in the territories and not to the interim arrangement, which is what is being discussed now.

['Arafat] I would like to say one thing. The arrangement is made of two phases, but the letter of invitation to the Madrid conference states that the interim arrangement will go into effect one year after the beginning of negotiations. A year has passed since the Madrid conference held on 31 October 1991. Therefore, every day after 31 October this year should be subtracted from the duration of the interim period. I am a good engineer and I know my math. Every day that passes will be subtracted, and let Rubinstein and the three "gangs" operating next to him—as I said, I do not know which one of them to believe—not think that they can "cheat" with our time....

[Avidan] Your argument about the split within the Israeli delegation sounds bizarre in view of the talk about divisions and tension within the Palestinian delegation.

['Arafat] There is only one Palestinian position.

[Avidan] Some argue that you are more radical than Nabil Sha'th and Abu-Mazin (Mahmud 'Abbas, a member of the PLO executive committee who acts as liaison between the Palestinian delegation and the PLO leadership), and that you prevent the two of them from adopting independent positions.

['Arafat] Nobody can take independent action. Ask Nabil Sha'th who is sitting here with us....

[Sha'th] 'Arafat is my leader, and he is also the leader of Abu-Mazin. Neither of us can act independently.

['Arafat] Abu-Mazin, Nabil Sha'th, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, Hanan 'Ashrawi, Faysal al-Husayni—none of them can adopt decisions on their own. All of them take their orders from their commander; that is, from me! Also, I will be the one who will have to sign any peace agreement.

[Al-Tibi] (Taking a pen out of 'Arafat's shirt pocket) With this pen 'Arafat will sign the peace agreement with you. ('Arafat concurs, and says: "God willing!")

[Avidan] Do you think you are a pragmatic man with moderate stands?

['Arafat] Who went to the Madrid conference, and why are the negotiations still going on? Contrary to my position or because of it? I am the leader of the Palestinian arena (repeats this statement three times).

[Al-Tibi] And you were elected democratically.

['Arafat] And I was elected democratically by the Palestinian people to be its leader.

[Sha'th or Kamal] No, 'Arafat, is the pragmatic leader.

[Avidan] Could the dialogue between the PLO and Hamas lead to a radicalization of the PLO's positions?

['Arafat] Nothing will affect the PLO position, which is decided by the Palestine National Council [PNC]. Hamas, the Popular Front (headed by George Habash), the Democratic Front (headed by Nayif Hawatimah), and the Arab Liberation Front (a pro-Iraqi Palestinian group) voted against the political process (in the PNC), but ultimately I went to the Madrid conference with a majority of 64.5 percent. (Switching to English) I think this is a very nice majority. I do not want a majority of 99.99 percent. I have 15.5 percent opposition and the rest (of the PLO) supports a policy advocating negotiations. Even within Fatah there is opposition to negotiations, and I understand it. It is part of our democracy. I am not angry with the opposition. The fact is that all of them come back to me as head of the Palestinian leadership. The day after the deportations, all the factions which had earlier boycotted the discussions—the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, with the exception of Fathi Shaqiqi's faction—showed up in Tunis for the meeting of the PLO leadership.

[Avidan] In other words, the talks with Hamas will not toughen the PLO's positions?

['Arafat] Only a PNC decision can influence me. I was elected by the PNC, and the PNC gave a mandate to the Palestinians to launch the peace process. However, that does not mean that I do not keep an open mind. Whenever the leadership passes a new resolution I immediately summon the PNC or the Palestine Central Council (a smaller body in which the PLO factions are represented) where official resolutions are made. I am not a dictator. I carry out the decisions of the majority.

[Avidan] Could negotiations between the PLO and Hamas lead to cooperation between the two movements in the context of the intifadah?

['Arafat] A few days ago a joint leaflet of Hamas and the Unified National Leadership of the Intifadah (a body connected to the PLO) was published (in the territories). Graffiti signed by both Fatah and Hamas and words of gratitude addressed to Hamas from Fatah have appeared in the territories.

[Avidan] Does that mean that the uprising will be more violent?

['Arafat] No, but one thing must be clear: As far as the deportations are concerned all the Palestinians feel threatened and feel that they must defend themselves. This time there were mass deportations and collective punishment. Everybody now turns to me and says: This time they deported the people of Hamas, tomorrow I will be the victim. What is to prevent Rabin from deporting members of the Popular Front or Fatah tomorrow? It is a matter of principle. The Palestinian people is as fearful about a population transfer as you are about a recurrence of the Holocaust.

[Avidan] Are you in good health following the plane accident and the head surgery you underwent in Amman?

['Arafat] Yes, certainly.

[Avidan] Some argue that you are exhausted from so much work, because you do not trust anybody and you do everything yourself.

['Arafat] I am a leader of detail! In my opinion, a leader who does not know the details cannot make the right decisions. I read all the reports sent to me, starting with the reports about the political negotiations. People phone me if there is anything that requires my comments. Abu-Mazin should be the man who phones the delegation, but I am the one who calls to tell it what must be done on each and every subject! I am a self-respecting person who works out of a sense of responsibility (quotes a relevant Koranic verse). The responsibility is in my hands, but we have a collective leadership and I am proud of it.

[Avidan] If Nabil Sha'th or somebody else in the leadership wants to make a concession to Israel in the negotiations, does he do it of his own accord or must he get your approval?

['Arafat] He must ask me, but I cannot decide on concessions either. If I cannot do that, certainly nobody else can.

[Al-Tibi] Can Rubinstein make his own decisions without Rabin's approval?

['Arafat] From Saturday until last night I was in constant contact with the PLO leadership. I must meet with Fatah and with the PLO Executive Committee, and I must summon the upper echelon of the PLO leadership; that is, heads of organizations, members of the PLO Executive Committee, and the PNC's presidency. In addition to that, I must meet all sorts of activists. Today (in Cairo) I met with activists of the Palestine Workers Federation for three hours. I did all this so that the decisions are accepted by all and are not only mine. Otherwise, how can we make sure that they are carried out? So, when I am in Tunis I know that my instructions are being carried out by our men everywhere: in Rafah and in Jenin, in Chile and in Washington.

'Arafat on Israeli Ruling

LD2312214592 Tunis Tunis-7 Television in Arabic 1900 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Report on an "exclusive" interview with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by unidentified Tunis-7 television reporter on 23 December; place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] In an exclusive interview with the television news, Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat talks about the stance of the Palestinian leadership regarding the Israeli Supreme Court's ruling yesterday:

[Begin recording] ['Arafat] First of all, I was expecting that ruling. There is no honest judiciary in Israel. An honest Israeli judiciary is propaganda, like the false propaganda on democracy in Israel. That court will carry out anything the prime minister instructs it to. This does not apply only to that court; it applies to all the courts. [passage omitted] Is this not a war crime in itself? This is genocide. Yesterday the deportees were fired on with mortars [preceding word in English], and four of them were injured. Therefore, this is a war crime. If they had any idea about law, would they have occupied land that belongs to others?

This is an aggressive state. Israel is the only country in the world that was established on the basis of a UN resolution—Resolution 181—and it is the only country in the world that does not respect UN resolutions and has not implemented any of the UN resolutions.

[Reporter] The UN secretary general has decided to send a special envoy to the Israeli Government in the framework of efforts to put pressure on Israel to reverse its order. What does the Palestinian leadership expect from these efforts?

['Arafat] This is the responsibility of the United Nations. This responsibility requires the secretary general to make an effort. In the event of his inability, there is another UN article, and the issue will be followed up. However, I would like to tell you something. Despite this and the difficult and [word indistinct] circumstances, we have no option except in our intifadah and our resistance to occupation. This is not my decision. It is the decision of our national councils and the decision of the Palestinian people—that its resistance and its intifadah should persist, wave after wave, until the Palestinian flag is hoisted over the citadels, mosques, and churches of Jerusalem. [end recording]

[Announcer] President Yasir 'Arafat also explained the prospects of the meeting that is due to be held tomorrow in Cairo, which will bring together the Arab sides taking part in the Middle East peace process and Egypt:

[Begin 'Arafat recording] This meeting is being convened in response to a Palestinian call. The brothers in the ring [tawq] countries have responded to the call. We have also called for a meeting of Arab foreign ministers. At that meeting, we will adopt a resolution on a united and committed Arab stance with which we will be able to confront the challenges that are facing us, not just as Palestinians, but as an Arab nation [word indistinct]. I do not know whether [words indistinct], but history has no mercy. [end recording]

'Arafat Chairs Meeting on Deportees 26 Dec

LD2612175392 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The higher committee for following up the issue of the deportees held its first meeting this morning under brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], president of the state of Palestine. The committee discussed action plans at the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels, to confront the policy of expulsions and mass deportations, the iron fist policy, and the war crimes being committed by Rabin's terrorist government.

The meeting adopted a number of resolutions concerning maintaining contacts and work with the UN secretary general, for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 799, and to achieve the immediate return of the deportees to their homeland.

The meeting also discussed practical steps to develop the political and information campaign aimed at stressing the danger that the policy of deportation and collective punishment constitutes to the Palestinians and their cause, to the overall situation in the whole region, and the continuation of the activity and role being played by PLO bodies at all levels to follow up this fateful and grave issue.

The meeting confirmed the resolution of the Palestinian leadership concerning the steadfastness of the deportees in staying where they are until returned to their homeland. It saluted their steadfastness and determination to defend their right to reject deportation and expulsion. The committee expressed the need for all Palestinian forces, bodies, and national figures to totally confront this terrorist campaign and the unlawful crimes being committed by Rabin's government, and to respond to it with a unified national stance.

Qaddumi Interviewed on Deportees, Peace Talks

NC2712071792 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic 0610 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Telephone interview with PLO Political Department head Faruq Qaddumi, in Tunis, by Ashraf 'Abd-al-'Aziz, in Cairo; date not given; from the "Dialogue From Afar" program—recorded]

[Text] ['Abd-al-'Aziz] Brothers, we have now on the open telephone line between Cairo and Tunis Mr. Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO's Political Department. Mr. Faruq Qaddumi, welcome to the Voice of the Arabs radio.

[Qaddumi] Thank you.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Mr. Qaddumi, we start this dialogue at a time when the tragedy of the Palestinians deported from the occupied territories is entering its second week amid increasingly worsening weather and living conditions. The deportees are facing heavy snow storms and a big drop in temperature in the camp where they are living on the border of the area occupied by Israel in south

Lebanon. Mr. Qaddumi, amid these conditions, what are the current Arab, Palestinian, and international actions to save these deportees?

[Qaddumi] Undoubtedly this measure taken by Rabin is clear evidence that Israeli policy is to continue to impede the peace effort and to implement terrorist practices against our people inside the occupied territories. This measure has been strongly condemned by international circles and not just in the Security Council, which strongly condemned this repressive measure. This measure is a transfer [previous word in English] of the Palestinian people. We not only denounce it, we also resist it. All countries are resisting it. A few days ago, the Arab group representing the cordon states made decisions and took specific measures to return the deported brothers to their homeland. We will repeat our call to the Security Council and the UN secretary general to set a timetable for the prompt return of the brothers to their homeland. At the international level, we are holding urgent contacts not only to have this crime denounced, but to have constant pressure put on Israel to return the deported brothers.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Mr. Qaddumi, can we say that the Israeli Government's decision to deport more than 400 Palestinian citizens has frozen the peace process? Or will you continue with the process and remain committed to the negotiations?

[Qaddumi] This repressive measure has dealt a serious blow to the peace efforts. The peace process cannot resume while the deported brothers are outside their homeland. This is clear evidence that the Israeli Government and specifically Rabin want to impose a certain course on the peace process which we completely reject. This transfer [previous word in English] is clear evidence that all the international peace efforts are facing a complete collapse. The cosponsors of the conference should take into consideration that not only do we reject and strongly resist such a measure, but it is also a serious blow to the peace efforts and evidence that Israel is still following its repressive and expansionist policy and that it does not want peace.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Mr. Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, speaking to you in Tunis from Cairo, there are some questions about the Israeli Government's decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians from the occupied territories, as it was made 48 hours before the end of the eighth round of talks. What is the significance of this?

[Qaddumi] Rabin has seized this opportunity, that is the transitional period between the old and new U.S. Administrations, to prove that he is following Shamir's policy, especially as he is facing major opposition inside the Israeli Government and Israel. He used soft language to show the world that he wanted peace, but his measures are clear evidence of the opposite. This was evident even during the negotiations.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Is there a link between the deportation decision and President Bush's meeting with the Arab and Israeli delegations to the peace talks, particularly as the deportation decision was issued on the same day?

[Qaddumi] The United States has given Rabin everything, and this is deeply regrettable: loan guarantees, support for completing the building of settlements, and support for Jewish emigration. However, it has not received anything in return that would prove that Rabin, on whom Washington wagered, is ready to take a step toward peace. At the end of this administration, Israel is dealing another blow to the ones who supported it. It is a blow to the U.S. efforts to effect a political settlement in the Middle East.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Mr. Faruq Qaddumi, it is clear that Rabin meant to send a message to the Arabs and the world from the collective deportation of this large number of people. Can you tell us what this message means?

[Qaddumi] This very clearly means that Rabin is ready to implement the policy of the transfer [previous word in English] of the Palestinian people. It is a direct threat to security and peace in the region, but our people, the Arab nation, and international public opinion will strongly resist it and Rabin will not be allowed to implement it. The current trend in the world is to move toward resolving regional conflicts peacefully. Shamir fell before Rabin and I expect Rabin to fall, too because he is dealing a blow to the move toward peace in international relations.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Before ending this dialogue, what Palestinian efforts or strategy will you follow in the near future, especially as Israel has created this wide gap between it and the Palestinians?

[Qaddumi] Continued resistance with all means of struggle is the road to freedom and to obtaining our national rights. We are strenuously seeking to gain everyone's support at the international level for the Palestinian cause. As to the Palestinian policy, the blessed intifadah is the road to freedom and independence. We will struggle relentlessly by all means for the sake of this humanitarian, noble aim.

['Abd-al-'Aziz] Mr. Qaddumi, thank you from Cairo and welcome again.

[Qaddumi] Thank you. God bless you.

'Abd-Rabbuh on Paris Visit, Deportees

JN2312210092 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1940 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Interview with Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, head of the PLO Information Department, by Ghassan 'Abd-al-Khaliq in Paris on 23 December, carried within the "Today's Guest" program—recorded]

[Text] ['Abd-al-Khaliq] Mr. Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, head of the PLO Information Department, is currently on a mission in Paris. The first question Mr. 'Abd-Rabbuh is: What is the purpose behind your visit to Paris today?

['Abd-Rabbuh] In fact, this is an emergency visit. I am carrying a message from the Palestinian leadership and Brother Yasir 'Arafat to President Mitterrand dealing with means to tackle the current serious situation, particularly after the deportation of 400 Palestinian citizens. In this message, we express our appreciation for the French position, both toward Palestinian rights and the PLO, and toward the deportation issue. We also call for playing a role in settling this issue as soon as possible in a manner that secures the deportees' return to their homeland and implements the UN Security Council resolution. This official message was delivered last night to Georges Kiejman, French minister of state for foreign affairs, and a French ministry team. The response was positive, to the effect that France will exert its efforts on all levels to help achieve these objectives and guarantee the continuation of the peace process, which is now threatened by developments over the past couple weeks. During this visit, we have also stressed that ironfisted policies, mass arrests, and state terrorism against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories all pose a grave threat to the peace process. It is the duty of France and other international forces to act immediately to put an end to this policy. We came to a full understanding, and we have agreed to resume contacts in the coming days to follow up on this issue in all its aspects.

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Regarding your meeting with French officials. Is there any hope of meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is now absent [as heard], and have you heard any practical proposals from French officials with whom you have met?

['Abd-Rabbuh] We conveyed the official message to President Mitterrand. There is a possibility of meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas today, especially since I have to leave for Cairo to participate in the meeting of the five Arab foreign ministers, to discuss this issue. There have been some steps on which agreement was reached with the French side. These steps deal with the issue of following up on the deportation issue, and with an action to return the deportees. The French side will hold contacts with all the parties concerned and will embark on a large-scale political operation. Moreover, we will also continue our contacts with the French side to tackle this issue.

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Mr. 'Abd-Rabbuh, tomorrow you will represent the PLO in a delegation that you will lead, which will also include Faysal al-Husayni and Sa'ib 'Urayqat. There is also talk about the possibility of Yasir 'Arafat participating in tomorrow's Cairo meeting. What can you tell us about that meeting?

['Abd-Rabbuh] We and the Lebanese brothers called for this urgent meeting a few days ago. This meeting was approved and will discuss the latest developments in the deportation of 415 Palestinian citizens. We and Lebanon agree that the deportees should not enter Lebanese territory, and that the international community should shoulder its responsibility toward the deportees' return in implementation of the UN Security Council resolution. During this meeting, we will discuss the steps required from the five Arab states to move on the Arab and international levels to follow this issue, to guarantee the deportees' return, and to confront the ironfisted policy and the current threats to the peace process resulting from this policy. We will also discuss the stand we should adopt toward this.

[Text] ['Abd-al-Khaliq] In light of talk about the possibility of suspending the participation of Lebanon and the PLO in the negotiations unless the deportation issue is resolved, are you going to press for this, and will you try to convince the other Arab parties to adopt a similar position at tomorrow's meeting?

['Abd-Rabbuh] Everything will be discussed. From our position, we stressed that we cannot continue the negotiations in light of the policy of terrorism, deportation, mass arrests, and the iron fist which our Palestinian people are now confronting in the occupied territories. This is a subject for discussion by the Arab parties, and we will decide what is suitable for us to agree on and to work toward. There is an important point here in that we will propose holding a comprehensive meeting of the Arab foreign ministers as soon as possible to follow up and deal with the dangerous situation which we are currently facing, with regard to the peace process and a possible explosion in the region, particularly after the escalation of Israel's terroristic and repressive policies. In our view, we think that it is time for a comprehensive Arab meeting, at least at the level of foreign ministers, to follow up this issue within the framework of the Arab League.

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Mr. 'Abd-Rabbuh, there is a Hamas delegation in Tunis today and there is another delegation representing Palestinian factions opposed to the peace process which will meet with the Palestinian leadership. Sources in Hamas have said that the movement will go to Tunis to bury the peace process. Do you expect the meeting with Hamas to be held within this framework?

['Abd-Rabbuh] The meeting with Hamas is something normal. The PLO is shouldering its responsibility with regard to the deportations and other Palestinian issues. Hamas members, their families, their brothers, and their sons are Palestinians in the first place, and it is the PLO's duty to defend every Palestinian and his rights wherever he lives and regardless of his political, intellectual, or religious affiliations. This is in the constitution of the PLO and is included in our declaration of independence. As for the peace process, the PLO has said since the very beginning that, under the policy of deportation and terrorism, the peace process cannot continue. In this case, Rabin and the Israeli Government will be the ones responsible for destroying the peace process. We are studying the possibility of continuing the peace process within a framework that serves Palestinian national

interests. At present we are following up and giving priority to the deportations. These are the subjects that will be discussed with our brothers in Hamas, and we urge them—as contained in the statement of the Unified National Leadership of the Intifadah in the occupied territories—to join the unified leadership and participate in joint action within the framework of various Palestinian institutions. I must point out here that a few days ago, we formed a higher committee headed by Brother Abu-'Ammar [PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat] that will follow up on issues related to the deportations, and Hamas will participate in this committee. This is a form of joint and unified action that can be developed. As for the political differences and the different viewpoints, we do not see them as a barrier to our unified role and action to confront repression, ironfisted policies, and the deportations. As I said, we consider the PLO leadership responsible for every Palestinian, regardless of their affiliation. Therefore, the PLO leadership is addressing these issues in its position of national responsibility and regardless of political differences.

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Then, Mr. 'Abd-Rabbuh you expect to see a relaxation in inter-Palestinian relations, particularly with Hamas and the other Palestinian factions, during today's meeting in Tunis?

['Abd-Rabbuh] Why not? The brothers in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have participated in previous meetings in Tunis, and Hamas declared its readiness to participate. Therefore, there are no obstacles. As I said, every party has the right to keep and to express its political viewpoint, but there are basic issues that unite us, and we have to work jointly for them. Expelling hundreds of Palestinian citizens in an act of mass deportation is an issue that should force everyone to unify their efforts and to struggle together in the field and in the political arena. This is what the PLO leadership calls for. Hamas can keep its position on the peace process as it wishes, and the others can do the same as well, because we, as you know, do not force anyone to change their position. What is important is to deal with and discuss these issues within the framework of unified Palestinian institutions. The PLO, and I stress this, will continue to play its role as the representative of the Palestinian people, and as the party which is responsible for every Palestinian wherever he may be and regardless of his affiliation. The deportation is an issue for all Palestinians today, and the deportees' return is an issue for each and every Palestinian.

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Thank you, Mr. Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh.

['Abd-Rabbuh] Thank you.

Talks Cannot Resume Without Deportees' Return

LD2512195292 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Brother Abu al-Lutf [Faruq Qaddumi], foreign minister of the state of Palestine, has confirmed that the deportations carried out by the authorities of the Israeli occupation are rejected by the Arabs and the international community as a whole. He added that the PLO will continue its moves on all fronts and at all international institutions, including the United Nations, the UN Security Council, the Islamic Conference Organization, and the Arab Foreign Ministers Council. Brother Abu al-Lutf stressed the need for the deportees to return to their homes and said that the Palestinians cannot resume peace negotiations without the return of these deportees. He said that we took several measures and we shall see in the light of them whether Arab stances will follow in line with those measures and their results. Brother Abu al-Lutf described the meeting of the foreign ministers of the states bordering Israel as positive and it came out with an Arab stance supporting the Palestine cause.

Negotiator Rejects Meeting With Israel's Rabin

JN2812112692 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Arabic 1045 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Interview with Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian team to the Arab-Israeli peace talks, by 'Umar Zaydani; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zaydani] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has invited you to meet with him, we would like to hear your comment?

['Abd-al-Shafi] In fact, this invitation under the current circumstances of deporting 415 Palestinians from their homeland, let alone the Israeli position on the peace talks, which I consider to be a hard-line position that conflicts with the terms of reference of the peace process—these two elements make the invitation premature.

[Zaydani] But, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, do you not think that such a meeting would advance the peace process, especially the negotiations, between the Palestinians and Israel?

['Abd-al-Shafi] I do not want to say no, but there is no doubt that the present circumstances do not allow us to respond to this invitation.

[Zaydani] Despite all developments in the region, the Arab foreign ministers and the PLO representative in Cairo have decided, despite everything, not to stop the negotiations. Do you not think that such a meeting should be held because it is in the interest of the negotiations?

['Abd-al-Shafi] I say that we, in principle, look forward to resolving the Palestinian-Israeli problem peacefully, but the current circumstances make the atmosphere not appropriate to accept Rabin's invitation. This is the reason why the Palestinian side did not accept the invitation.

[Zaydani] Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, thank you very much.

['Abd-al-Shafi] You are welcome.

Egypt

Foreign Minister on Peace Process, Arms Balance

NC2612210092 Cairo AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY in Arabic 1500 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Cairo, 26 Dec (AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY)—UKTUBAR magazine publishes in its 27 December edition the second part of an interview conducted with Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa by Chief Editor Salah Muntasir. Following is the text of the interview:

[Muntasir] In 1990, there was the Gulf crisis, the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, and the entire world was preoccupied with it since August of that year. In 1991 came the end of the Soviet Union, heralding the failure of communism as an ideology which Marx expected to last while other ideologies vanished. But what about 1992?

[Musa] This year has been marked by many crises and problems. Almost no continent or country has been free of crises. In Europe, there was the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In Africa, there was the Somali crisis. In Asia, there are continuing problems. The CIS, which succeeded the Soviet Union, has major problems. Nevertheless, we must say that there were positive developments in 1992. Among these, for example, was the arrival of a government in Israel ready to deal with the peace process better than Shamir did. Therefore, the negotiations process, if we exclude the new circumstances of the Palestinian deportation—which is a serious and unacceptable issue—has become more active and better than before, giving us some reasons for optimism. Therefore, we look to 1993 as a year in which we hope we can hold on to the beginning of the rope that will lead to specific steps toward peace and in which it will be possible to end the Somali problem and to deal with the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina on new bases.

[Muntasir] Let us begin with the peace negotiations. If we put aside the issue of the Palestinians' expulsion, which could obstruct the process of negotiations, what point have these negotiations reached following the 14 months since the Madrid conference?

[Musa] First we must admit that there are many obstacles, because we are dealing with a problem which started at the beginning of this century, since the Basil Conference, the Balfour Declaration, Jewish emigration, the Palestine war, the establishment of the State of Israel, the tripartite aggression in 1956, the 1967 and 1973 wars, the 1977 initiative, and Camp David. The problem is old and cannot be solve quickly.

[Muntasir] Without getting lost in the details, if we were to take each party separately, what is its problem? For example, what are the basic problems between Syria and Israel?

[Musa] Syria wants complete withdrawal, and Israel wants complete peace. The problem is which should begin first, because there is a crisis of confidence. What is happening now is an attempt to achieve a principle declared by Syria, which is "everything in return for everything." What the two sides are trying to reach agreement on is how to define the "everything" which each side can give to the other.

[Muntasir] What are the problems between the Palestinians and Israel?

[Musa] There are many problems between the two sides. There are the problems of land, Jerusalem, linkage between the interim and the final periods [of autonomy], Resolution 242 and where it applies—in the West Bank and Gaza, or not? These problems must be solved. With regard to land, there is a basic principle, which is that seizing the territory of others by force is not permitted. [passage omitted] There was some progress, the most important of which was the decision to stop making it a crime to maintain dialogue and contact with the Palestinians. This is a positive step. Israel, however, is called on to undertake more steps than those it is asking of the Palestinians, because it is the one which is in control of the land and can decide about withdrawal.

[Muntasir] What is the problem between Lebanon and Israel?

[Musa] In the case of Lebanon, the situation is different. Here we are talking about two Security Council resolutions: Resolution No. 242, which is general, and Resolution No. 425, which is special to the Lebanese question and calls for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon. I believe that Lebanon's problem finds its solution in Resolution 425, as well as in the general Resolution 242, which prohibits the acquisition of others' territory by force. Lebanon must restore its full sovereignty over all its territory. Israel, which talks about a security strip, should understand that security can be achieved only in the context of a just peace. Neither mountains, seas, guns, rivers, nor international forces can protect any country, be it Israel, Lebanon, Syria, or Egypt. It is only through peaceful relations that security can be protected and upheld. Israel must realize this. All its demands either are temporary, unnecessary, or nominal. A just peace is the only thing that guarantees security.

[Muntasir] We are left with Jordan and its problems with Israel.

[Musa] Concerning Jordan, there are issues linked with the Palestine question, such as some Israeli-occupied Jordanian territories outside the West Bank. There also are some intermingled issues such as the possibility of a federation between the Palestinians and the Jordanians. Jordan's problem with Israel, therefore, is of two types.

[Muntasir] What did Egypt's foreign policy achieve in 1992?

[Musa] Let me talk about the last two years. Egypt offered the following four initiatives: The establishment of a Middle East free of mass-destruction weapons, the creation of a Mediterranean grouping, the establishment

of a Third World movement, and the positive participation in launching the Middle East peace process.

[Muntasir] Concerning the removal of mass-destruction weapons from the Middle East, no success has been reported so far.

[Musa] The question of mass-destruction weapons is a main factor in reshaping the regional order of the Middle East. There is now a lack of balance. Except for Algeria, which joins nuclear monitoring agreements with certain obligations, all the Arab countries have joined the Nonproliferation Treaty. The only country that has failed to join the treaty is Israel, which has known, or reported, nuclear activity. Today, there is a chemical weapons agreement we would like to join. But if we do, we will be members to both the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the chemical nonproliferation agreement, while Israel will be outside both. We, therefore, say that if they want us to join the chemical agreement, we do not object. But we cannot join it if Israel does not, because there would be imbalance. I am not talking about Israel as an adversary, but as a country in the region. Why should any country in the region be given privileges over the others? Why should any country have more rights to security than the other countries? Why should it have rights to more arms? Why should Israel be allowed not to join agreements and treaties and not be blamed, while they blame us if we do not join these treaties and agreements? We must be treated equally. We are sorry. We will not sign the chemical weapons agreement, but not because we are not convinced it is needed. On the contrary, we are convinced. Indeed, we participated in drafting the agreement. But we took an Arab decision not to attend the meeting scheduled in Paris on 13 January to sign the agreement.

[Muntasir] But will all the non-Arab states sign this agreement?

[Musa] Yes. For this reason, when it was believed that the Arab states could be the minority when the majority signed the agreement, Egypt's opinion was that this was not a new situation. Some UN resolutions had been passed by a majority of about 150 votes, with only Israel voting against them. It used to clearly outline its position to the international community, even though it knew that the resolution would be issued. All the states except a few, including Israel, have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The issue is one of interests, and it is necessary to establish balance and security in the Middle East before it is asked to join. I hope that the Arab position will remain united to safeguard the security balance in the Middle East. [passage omitted]

[Muntasir] There is the issue of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM]. What is happening with regard to NAM now?

[Musa] The NAM is a historic grouping which is very dear to us all, because we were educated in it. But how effective is NAM? In my opinion, there is no movement called Nonaligned "Movement," but there is what we can call "meetings" of the Nonaligned states. We meet, and that is it. The Third World is in poor position economically and politically. The question or challenge is how can the Third World states make a contribution? We call for the reconstitution of the NAM to be the movement of the entire Third World, because there are about 20 states outside the NAM, and other states like Argentina and Burma which have left it. Furthermore, the conditions have changed. In the past, we used to talk about military bases and the East-West conflict. But all this has changed now. They even have overtaken us on the issue of disarmament.

There is a new formula. It is necessary to establish a Third World movement that will include the Group of 77 states and the NAM states, and to discuss our views on all the new theories—the theory of new international security, the issue of international armament, weapons of mass destruction, economic development, debts, and South- South cooperation and South-North cooperation. There is a Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Europe. Can we establish a conference on cooperation among the Third World states like the European cooperation conference? There are many issues, and we must have a share in them. Egypt's role is to attempt to connect all this. [passage omitted]

'Amr Musa on Somalia, Deportation

NC2612173192 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1434 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Cairo, 26 Dec (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has announced that a meeting will be held in Ethiopia in a matter of days to discuss the situation in Somalia. He said the Arab League, Islamic Conference Organization, and the United Nations will attend.

Addressing the People's Assembly today, he referred to the dispatch of Egyptian forces to Somalia. He said that, in continuation of its pioneering role in the Arab, African, and international arenas, Egypt has been eager to respond to Security Council resolutions by contributing a number of officers, personnel, and observers to peacekeeping operations in unstable areas of the world.

He referred to the Palestinian deportees, asserting that Egypt does not accept the mass deportations of Palestinians from the occupied land and the expulsion of Palestinians.

He said Egypt attaches great importance to this issue, which was the subject of discussion during President Hosni Mubarak's meeting with Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat and also of the meetings of the countries concerned with the peace process, which were held in Cairo the day before yesterday. He added that Egypt has been asked to conduct international and Arab contacts and that Egypt is holding official contacts with Israel aimed at getting Israel to back down from its decision.

The foreign minister reiterated: In Egypt, we can not accept these measures, which hinder the peace process and contradict the Geneva Convention. He noted Arab

reconciliation, saying it is the basis on which the Arab world can proceed to a stronger position.

He pointed out that President Mubarak's effort to contain the Qatari-Saudi dispute represents the start of mending the Arab world's situation.

On the dispatch of Egyptian forces to Somalia, he said: We are moving within the framework of the United Nations to deal with the Somali issue. He added that there have been reconciliation efforts in Somalia and that the Somali factions have been invited to meet in Cairo within the context of the Arab League. He continued: We also addressed an invitation within the framework of the Islamic Conference Organization, but some Somali factions rejected the invitation. He noted in his statement to the People's Assembly that the use of force to resolve the Somali problem is a matter for the Security Council and not within the jurisdiction of regional organizations. [passage omitted]

Musa said that, in continuation of Egypt's pioneering role in the Arab, African, and international arenas—especially within the United Nations—and in consolidation of Egypt's activities in various spheres—foremost of which is protecting international peace and security—it has decided to contribute a 600-man battalion, part of which will participate in this mission. The rest of the force, he added, will participate in the peacekeeping operation which has been established through Security Council Resolution 775 and asserted by Executive Article 6 of Resolution 794. This article stipulates that the Security Council is to decide on continuing UN operations in Somalia and completing the deployment of the operation's 3,500 personnel, who were assigned according to Article 3 of Resolution 775 in accordance with the UN secretary general's report. This report was based on the secretary general's assessment of the existing field situation.

The foreign minister noted that this participation proceeds from and asserts Egypt's firm policy. He said Egypt always is eager to respond to Security Council resolutions by contributing a number of officers, personnel, and observers to peacekeeping operations in some of the world's unstable areas.

He added that the mission and responsibilities of these forces are confined under the relevant Security Council resolutions to monitoring the implementation of cease-fire agreements, national reconciliation, securing the arrival of humanitarian aid, and participation in the duties assigned to the transitional authorities—as is the case in Cambodia—to run the country's affairs until elections are held.

He said that Egypt's participation in UN operations is as follows: in Angola, 14 military observers monitor the cease-fire accord and national reconciliation; in Western Sahara, nine military observers monitor the referendum on the future of the region; in Cambodia, 100 police observers train national cadres; and in Bosnia- Hercegovina, 416 officers and men in Sarajevo, 13 military observers in the UN Protection Forces command and to monitor the air embargo on Bosnia-Hercegovina, and six military police personnel and 17 police observers.

Concluding his statement, the foreign minister praised the high performance and loyal spirit with which the Egyptian forces carry out their duties and responsibilities; a level of performance to which everyone has attested and which prompted the United Nations to choose an Egyptian officer as commander of the Sarajevo sector forces. He said: The United Nations also has awarded certificates of appreciation to several of our personnel participating in peacekeeping operations.

Messages Received From U.S., Israel on Deportees

NC2612072592 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0435 GMT 26 Dec 92

[From the press review]

[Text] The newspaper AKHBAR AL-YAWM reports that the U.S. Administration has sent a message to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry calling on it to make efforts to contain the issue of the Palestinians deported from the occupied territories. In this message, the U.S. Administration calls on Egypt to intervene so as to avoid a renewed escalation that may affect the Middle East peace process in view of Palestinian statements calling for a return to armed struggle.

The paper reports that Israel has also sent a message to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry explaining its view on the deportation issue. In its message, Israel says that the final ("position) in this case will be issued in two months. Yitzhaq Rabin, the message adds, had to take this measure because Hamas planned to kill Israelis and a number of Palestinian leaders.

'Arafat Arrives in Cairo on Brief Visit

NC2412081392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0740 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat arrived in Cairo this morning from Tunis on a few hours visit to Cairo during which he will meet with President Husni Mubarak. The Palestinian president will also meet with Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid to discuss the latest developments in the Palestinian issue.

Mubarak, 'Arafat Discuss Deportees

NC2412103092 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0944 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 24 Dec (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak held a session of talks with Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat this morning. The meeting was attended by Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa and Sa'id Kamal, ambassador of Palestine in Egypt.

The talks between President Mubarak and 'Arafat dealt with the problem of the deportation of the Palestinians from the country and how to find a solution to it. The talks also dealt with the latest developments in the Middle East peace process in light of the results of the eighth round of negotiations in Washington and how to overcome the problems the negotiations are facing to achieve a just, peaceful solution acceptable to all parties.

'Arafat Departs Cairo

NC2512124092 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1207 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat left Cairo this afternoon after a two-day official visit. While in Cairo, he met with President Husni Mubarak and discussed with him the developments in the problem of the Palestinian deportees and ways of finding a solution. [passage omitted]

'Amr Musa, French Minister Discuss Deportees

NC2712184692 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1758 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa this evening met with French Justice Minister Michel Vauzelle, who currently is visiting Cairo.

The discussion during the meeting dealt with the situation in the Middle East in light of the Israeli decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories and the role of France and the EC in overcoming and removing the obstacles facing the peace process.

Mubarak Receives French Minister

NC2712210092 Cairo ESC Television in Arabic 2000 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] President Husni Mubarak today received French Justice Minister Michel Vauzelle. The meeting was attended by Justice Minister Faruq Sayf-al-Nasr and French Ambassador to Cairo Patrick Leclercq.

Vauzelle stated that he conveyed a message to President Mubarak from French President Francois Mitterrand. He said that he listened to a detailed explanation from President Mubarak about his views on several Arab and international issues, led by the Israeli deportation of Palestinians to the no man's land between Israel and Lebanon, and the situation in Somalia and in the region in general.

[Cairo MENA in Arabic at 1926 GMT on 27 December, reporting Vauzelle's statement after meeting Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, adds: "In a statement he made following the meeting, the French justice minister said that he also was briefed about Egypt's assessment of the situation between Israel and the Arab states and in the Gulf region, particularly following President Mubarak's great achievement in resolving the border dispute between Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

["He noted that French President Francois Mitterrand's message to President Mubarak came within the framework of the friendship between the two countries and the renewal of confidence in Egypt's role. He emphasized that Egypt enjoys security and stability."]

Mubarak Receives Belgian Vice Prime Minister

NC2612111292 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1045 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 26 Dec (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak today received Willy Claes, Belgian vice prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. They reviewed the peace process and ongoing regional, European, and international efforts to push it ahead, and the obstacles hindering its progress, including the issue of the Palestinian deportees.

The meeting also dealt with certain African issues, primarily the future situation in Somalia now that the peacekeeping forces have succeeded in taking food relief to several famine-stricken areas.

Belgium's Claes on Ties, Peace

NC2712190892 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1715 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes has said that his visit to Egypt is related to Belgium's coming chairmanship of the European troika beginning 1 January and of the European Community as of 1 July 1993.

At a news conference this afternoon, Claes noted that his talks with President Husni Mubarak and Egyptian officials dealt with the situation in the Middle East in light of the recent developments in the peace negotiations and the deportation of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

Claes stressed that his country supports Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, Israel's right to live within secure borders, and the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including their right to establish an independent state. He pointed out that his country supports Resolution 799 on returning the Palestinian deportees, strongly condemns this act—which is considered a violation of human rights—and all acts of violence and terrorism.

Claes noted that Belgium's and Egypt's views are identical regarding their desire for continued peace talks. He said that in the wake of the deportation of the Palestinians, perhaps there is a need for a new element [not further specified]. He noted that Israel has a desire to continue the talks and that no party has the right to waste time [regarding the peace process].

Claes said that Europe and particularly the EC are prepared with their available means to boost and stimulate the Middle East peace dialogue. They also have the desire within the framework of the Maastricht Treaty to speak as one voice, because their views are close regarding the Middle East.

Claes expressed his satisfaction with the role Europe currently is playing within the framework of the peace negotiations, noting that in the initial stage, this role was limited. He also expressed his conviction that the new U.S. Government will be prepared to activate the peace process.

On European-U.S. relations, Claes pointed out that it is better to wait until the upcoming GATT talks conclude, because the trade war may continue and dialogue between the two may not be easy. [passage omitted]

Belgian Minister Departs Cairo

NC2712162992 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1527 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—Willy Claes, Belgian minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister, his wife, and their accompanying delegation left Cairo this evening after a three-day visit.

During his visit, Claes discussed with President Mubarak the Middle East peace process and obstacles confronting it such as the deportees issue, and bilateral relations and how to bolster them in all fields.

He also held talks with People's Assembly Speaker Fathi Surur and Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa. [passage omitted]

Mubarak Meets Ugandan President on Arrival

NC2612111892 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1056 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 26 Dec (MENA)—Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni arrived in Cairo this afternoon on a two-day working visit to Egypt. President Muhammad Husni Mubarak met the Ugandan leader at the airport and accompanied him to the Presidential Palace in Heliopolis.

Mubarak-Museveni Talks Noted

NC2612134492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1255 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 26 Dec (MENA)—Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif said after the approximately two-hour talks between President Mubarak and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, which were interrupted by a working lunch, that the two presidents discussed in general international issues, the new world order, and its impact on the African Continent.

He added that the talks also dealt with all African issues, relations between Egypt and Uganda, and ways to promote them in various areas.

The information minister said that the two presidents exchanged views on the African summit due to be held in Cairo next June under the chairmanship of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak.

Ugandan President Concludes Talks

NC2712103592 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0904 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak resumed his talks with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni at the Presidential Office this morning.

After the hour-long meeting, Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif said that the two presidents exchanged views on African issues and on preparations for the next African summit due to be held in June under President Mubarak's chairmanship. He added that the two presidents also discussed the outcome of the economic, technical, and trade talks held by the ministers accompanying the Ugandan president with their Egyptian counterparts.

An official send-off ceremony was held for President Museveni at the conclusion of the talks. [passage omitted]

The Ugandan president left Cairo Airport before noon following his two-day visit to Egypt. He was seen off by President Mubarak.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement

NC2712140792 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1224 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni have welcomed the UN efforts and initiative to secure relief aid to the Somali people who are suffering from starvation.

The two presidents expressed their concern about conflicts in African, especially in Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Angola, Mozambique, and Liberia, and the terrible suffering of innocent civilians. They called on all concerned parties to quickly find peaceful solutions to these conflicts.

This came in the press statement the Foreign Ministry issued today on the occasion of the conclusion of President Museveni's visit to Cairo.

Presidents Mubarak and Museveni welcomed the international community's efforts to establish peace in Rwanda, Mozambique, and Angola.

The two presidents condemned Israel's deportation of over 400 Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories and stressed the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a national homeland. They asked the Security Council to take the necessary measures to guarantee the return of the deportees. The two presidents also expressed concern over the dangerous situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and welcomed the concerted efforts the United Nations is exerting to find a solution to this problem.

Presidents Mubarak and Museveni expressed their deep satisfaction at the level relations between the two countries have reached. They agreed to increase and bolster cooperation.

The two leaders held comprehensive talks dealing with bilateral relations and many regional and international issues. They agreed to continue negotiations regarding issues of bilateral and regional interest.

Sudanese Opposition Party Chief Meets 'Amr Musa

NC2712155192 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1418 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 27 Dec (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa today met with Sudanese Democratic Unionist Party [DUP] leader Muhammad al-Mirghani.

Al-Mirghani said the meeting took place as part of the consultations on joint issues to unify views regarding events involving Sudan and Egypt during this crucial stage.

He added that during the meeting, they exchanged views on issues of mutual benefit to the two countries.

Al-Mirghani said in his statement that the deterioration of relations between Egypt and Sudan is the responsibility of the current Sudanese regime.

He said the disputes can be resolved if intentions are honest, the interests of the people are considered, democracy is entrenched, and human rights are preserved. He pointed out that the establishment of totalitarian, provocative, and oppressive regimes is what creates these problems. Such regimes consequently are the ones that should bear responsibility for the deterioration in Egyptian-Sudanese relations.

The DUP leader said his party seeks to establish peace in Sudan, set up democratic pluralism, and preserve the dignity and rights of the Sudanese within the framework of Sudan's unity. He noted that in November 1988, Sudan was on the verge of reaching a peace agreement with Sudanese People's Liberation Movement leader John Garang.

Al-Mirghani held the Sudanese Government responsible for the deteriorating situation in Sudan. He said poverty, hunger, and sickness currently are spreading through the country, and that oppression is being practiced primarily against the Muslims, and also against the Christians and others. The DUP leader also held the Sudanese Government responsible for the deteriorating relations between Sudan and its neighbors.

Al-Mirghani described the current regime in Sudan as a "naturally evil regime" that wants to impose its control and hegemony and export its ideas, while at the same time exploiting the Sudanese people to realize its illegitimate objectives.

The DUP currently is practicing its activities outside Sudan because it is an opposition party, especially since al-Bashir's government banned parties after taking power in 1989.

Interior's Musa Discusses Terrorism, Salsabil

NC2412091592 Cairo AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY in Arabic 1705 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 23 Dec (AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY)—AL-AHRAM and several Arab newspapers will tomorrow, Thursday, publish the proceedings of an Arab press meeting, organized by the AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY and moderated by [the agency's Deputy Chief Editor] Mahmud Murad, with Interior Minister Major General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, who made important remarks. The following is the text of the dialogue:

In the 2-hour-and-15-minute dialogue, which was characterized by clarity and frankness, Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa spoke about the phenomenon of terrorism from which Arab societies are now suffering. He stressed that the time has come to eradicate terrorism from its roots and that Egyptian security authorities have the secret of these organizations.

The Interior Minister said: A single case, known as "Salsabil," which is the name of the computer company that was the den of these organizations, has revealed a Pandora's box of secrets. The company's computer discs contain all the organizations' details, names, and goals. There is a single international organization run by a guidance bureau composed of personalities of various nationalities. There are sub-organizations run by a guidance bureaus from nationals of each country. There is an Egyptian organization run by a bureau of Egyptians. There are organic links between these organizations. This discovery has created a state of panic among the terrorist leaders, prompting them to instigate their followers to carry out individual and irrational acts and to make statements which are published and broadcast.

During the Arab press meeting, which was organized by the AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY and held at the Panorama Hall of the AL-AHRAM building in Cairo, Musa said that these organizations are manipulated by foreign forces and their aim is to seize power by force.

The minister called for a national confrontation to protect the homeland and the nation and to defend Islam, saying: These are not religious extremists but terrorists who have no relationship with religion whatsoever.

The meeting began with a statement by AL-AHRAM, which welcomed the interior minister, who immediately accepted the invitation without asking about the kind of questions or who the interviewers would be. He expressed his full readiness to engage in a dialogue to reveal facts frankly and clearly.

The AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY, which initiated its activity eight months ago and which deals with a group of Arab and foreign newspapers, magazines, and news agencies, was discussed in detail.

[AL-AHRAM] Allow us to start the dialogue with a statement by Interior Minister Maj. Gen. Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa on the issue of extremism in Egypt and the Arab countries. Is extremism a phenomenon?

[Musa] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. I thank AL-AHRAM and the AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY for providing me with this opportunity to meet with the brother representatives of Arab newspapers in Cairo, who are participating in this Arab press meeting. I am happy to sit with this distinguished elite to reveal the truth. Truth is born out of discussion. Excuse me, Mr. Mahmud Murad, I am used to being frank. Excuse me because I have reservations about the word extremists, for these are not extremists.

The meaning of the word terrorism is that someone moves from the center and goes to the extreme right or extreme left. It is fine if extremism exists in religion. The prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, said: Anyone who tries to outsmart religion is a loser. These are the prophet's words, which do not come out of a vacuum.

What is happening now is not religious extremism, but coercion and imposition of opinion. Either people listen to what they [the extremists] say or become targets for their chains, knives, and guns. Neither the Koran nor the prophet's sayings call for crimes. What is going on is unabashed terror, that violates religion, legitimacy, and law. They [the extremists] have hurt religion and tarnished its image in the Western media.

Let me say this. There is a man who was touted as the "amir" [leader] of the group. This man, who goes by the name of Jabir and was recently arrested in Imbabah, claimed to know by heart two sections of the Koran. He proved to be a liar. He does not even know these two sections by heart. How did this man make himself an imam, a shaykh, and an amir? According to my humble knowledge, the amir of the Muslims is the caliph of the prophet—may God's prayers and peace be upon him—and he must fulfill 11 qualifications, among which are: He must be a descendent of the prophet's family, he must know the Koran by heart, and people must testify that he is a man of moral integrity.

How can this man [Jabir] be imam for us, rule us, instruct us, and lead us? Does his police record, which began when he was 12 and features a wide range of felonies and misdemeanors, prepare him for such a task?

Jabir talked to Egyptian and foreign journalists. Sadly, international news agencies carried reports that things are afoot and Egypt is going to fall in the hands of Shaykh Jabir. Is this true? Can this man rule us, can he lead us in prayers? Is Egypt too sterile to beget a better ruler than this "drummer?" [reference to one of Jabir's previous careers]

It is unbelievable. But what can we say? This is a democracy. We will not go back on the democratic system. It is better than other systems. Despite these excesses, we are still acting within the law. These individuals are outlaws. They have no thought, morality, religion, or values. I am sorry to say this. But I base my judgment on their conduct.

Let me give you a simple example of their immoral activities. "Hasan Shihatah," the man arrested in Alexandria for killing officer 'Ali Khatir, is so "mean and nasty" that he used his own children as a shield to protect him. Officer Khatir, an unmarried man who has no children, refused to use his gun because he did not want to harm the children. This is a fact to which Khatir's commander, Lieutenant Colonel Mahmud al-Makhzanji, and other eyewitnesses testify. The criminal exploited the situation and fired at the officer. The two officers on the scene were armed with very powerful weapons and could have blown Shihatah and the entire building to bits, but they acted with humanity and piety.

[AL-AHRAM] We agree that these actions have nothing to do with Islam. Still, we believe that these extremist groups have political motives. If we go back to the beginnings of the so-called al-Jihad Organization and other groups, we find that these groups came into being in the seventies, with the attack on the Technical Military College and the assassination of former Awqaf Minister Shaykh al-Dhahabi. The two main defendants in these attacks were Salih Sariyah and Shukri Mustafa.

Sariyah was not Egyptian. He also was a follower of the Islamic Liberation Party, an organization that came into being outside Egypt. Shukri Mustafa was a disciple of Sairyah. Mustafa used imported ideas to create the Repudiation and Renunciation Group. The course of events suggests the existence of political motivations. What we have here are organized political forces that work according to plans and have links with political forces outside Egypt and, if I may say so, outside the Arab nation.

[Musa] In my latest statement at the People's Assembly I gave a brief history of terrorism and I agree with your conclusion. Today, the media carried remarks by Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, "the groups amir [amir al-jama'at]," who said: "We are not an organization of jihad or repudiation. We are Islamic groups." This is what he said, claiming that they are the Islamic Group. If he is right, then who are we? They call themselves the Islamic groups and see the rest of Muslims as atheists.

The fact of the matter is that this kind of thinking did not originate in our country. I am 62 years old and have spent the past 39 years in security work, including 12 years in political security. From my experience, these strange ideas did not originate in our or any other Arab society. This ideas are imported. They [the extremists]

are agents. Where do they get their money and the training that they employ in criminal acts against their country and compatriots? They have admitted as much in two recent court cases in Alexandria, in which the sentences were announced 23 and 24 November. During the trials, they admitted that their work aimed to achieve certain objectives for the benefit of foreign elements.

[AL-SHARQ, Qatari newspaper] We congratulate the policemen on the systematic method of confrontation with the terrorists. The Imbabah operation was accomplished without one drop of blood. The situation in Imbabah was not surprising to the security authorities, the government, or people. It took long to carry out this operation. This case deserves study because it may recur in other places in Egypt. I believe that the responsibility should not be borne by the police alone.

[Musa] I thank you for your good feeling about the police. The matter is not as sensational as we heard, such as the state of Imbabah was independent. As for our knowledge, we will not say that we were unaware. We were aware of the situation in Imbabah and our men went there daily before we started the overall operation. Certain newspapers said we entered the quarter with 12,000 men. When I read this I laughed. Were we invading the area? The force that took part in the operation consisted of 1,318 men, including 350 officers, mostly intelligence personnel in plain clothes. The fact that Imbabah is an area with unplanned and random buildings is true. It is similar to the 'Izbah Sulayman in Alexandria, where an operation took place recently and officer 'Ali Khatir was martyred.

The planning of these areas must be reconsidered, and the government is in the process of doing that. However, I maintain that the nature of an area does not justify crime. Other areas, such as al-Jamaliyah, have similar circumstances and are densely populated. These groups exist there because they imagine that they are far from the police and are difficult to get at. With God's help, this situation will not continue. As I said, the security agencies were aware, but the picture was not as gloomy as certain papers portrayed it. I do not exonerate the foreign media. It sought to defame us. It speaks of 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, who is residing in the United States, as a Khomeyni awaiting return to take power in Egypt. I tell them that this is an illusion. If he really thinks this can happen, he is deluding himself. He visited me in my office before his departure and we talked. I told him that if he preaches about God almighty, we are all ears. But if he was acting within clandestine organizations in violation of legitimacy and law, I say no.

[AL-SHARQ] Why did you allow him to travel abroad?

[Musa] He is an Egyptian citizen and has a right to travel. If he wants to come back, he is welcome.

[AL-AHRAM] He traveled legally to Saudi Arabia, but he was detained at Jeddah airport and prevented entry, so he left for Sudan.

[Musa] He met with someone in Sudan and obtained an entry visa to the United States. He then left for the United States, although obtaining a visa is difficult and takes a long time.

[AL-AHRAM] I visited the United States in October and November and discussed this issue with U.S. officials, but I did not hear a convincing reply. Some of them told me I was right, then, after some time, they contacted me and said that 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman resides in the United States because he is married to an American woman. I told them that this is old news, that we had already published that fact, along with the wealth that came upon him suddenly, and that he sent money to his first wife. They said that his marriage to two women is a crime. To sum up, there is a big question mark on this issue and on attempts to exaggerate his role and liken him to Khomeyni when he was in Paris. He is now residing in New Jersey, New York, and the Egyptians there, whom I met, are disgusted with him and consider him a disgrace. Contrary to reports, he has no supporters or followers. Therefore, I maintain that there is a plan to strike at the Arab region. Since the plan currently focuses on Egypt, we must not forget what happened in Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia.

[Musa] That is true. Undoubtedly there is a scheme. It is Khawarij [early Islam extremist Shiites] ideology. It is alien thinking that does not originate in our country.

[AL-WATAN, Kuwait] Why were you so late in carrying out the Imbabah operation? The people worry that with the expansion of the sweep, good Muslims will be confused with terrorists. Another thing is that the Egyptian opposition AL-SHA'B newspaper has said that Jabir, whom you arrested in Imbabah, is not the amir in the area, that the amir has been in prison for two years, and that Jabir is an agent planted by the police to achieve a false victory. Finally, why don't you apply the Algerian security method that is used against the Islamic Salvation Front, which is not content in striking at the elements but also at the political and economic establishments that support it?

[Musa] We were not late in carrying out the Imbabah operation, and we were careful not to confuse the good and the bad. On one night, for example, we detained 202 people, and within six hours we released 150 of them. The remaining 52 were found to be involved in various cases and were referred to the pertinent authorities.

As for the story of the amir of Imbabah, we did not say that he was an amir, and we do not know that there is something called amirate. We did not plant Jabir. He is one of them, not one of us. When we plant someone, we choose a person better than Jabir, who collapsed and immediately confessed as soon as he was arrested. He attributed to himself despicable characteristics.

As for the Algerian method, we, as President Husni Mubarak said in his recent press conference, insist on democracy and will not change our mind about it.

[AL-MADINAH, Saudi Arabia] It has been noticed that many institutions, such as the parties and others, have reduced their role and stopped assuming responsibility in Egypt, leaving the burden to the police. I think that the matter requires a collective confrontation. At the sixth National Democratic Party conference, Dr. Mamduh al-Biltagi raised this matter in a working paper which was approved. We have not heard anything about it since that time.

[Musa] These are the same questions I raised in my speech at the People's Assembly. Is it, however, the responsibility of the Interior Ministry to call for what you are advocating? This is not our duty.

[AL-AHRAM] Who should take the initiative and make the appeal?

[Musa] Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, leader of the opposition in the People's Assembly, called in his statement in the Assembly for isolating these terrorists, and said that this is a political matter. I support him and call for implementing this call. But I also ask: Who will take the initiative?

[AL-AHRAM] AL-AHRAM will take the initiative and will call for a symposium to discuss this important issue next week, God willing.

[Dr. Ibrahim Wahbi Habib, an Egyptian currently living in New York] His excellency the minister has explained to us the situation; however, the picture portrayed abroad about our country through the Western media is very gloomy and frightening. I, as a professor at New York University, and others try to explain the situation to other people who want to discuss the matter with us. But we lack information. For example, I was attending a scientific conference in Belgium last week, and asked that the next conference be held in Egypt in December next year. However, the organizers of the conference expressed fear in light of recent developments, and said they will look for another country. This is the foreigners' position, and even the position of some Egyptians in the absence of correct information.

[Musa] Your remarks are painful, but I am pleased with them. You are now in Egypt and see that the picture is different from how they describe it abroad. You can see that I am right when I say that the Western media have been unjust. But why? You know who finances, supervises, and manages this media.

Regarding the conference you spoke about, I pray that you will succeed in convening it next year not in Cairo but even in Asyut, which is described as the hotbed of terrorism. Egypt is safe and secure. The Western media have been unjust. The terrorists have not succeeded in undermining tourism, but the Western media deliberately did.

[AL-AHRAM] To confront this kind of foreign media, why does the Interior Ministry not appoint an official spokesman to whom foreign correspondents can talk?

[Musa] The Interior Ministry spokesman is Major General Raba' al-Din Ibrahim. When the foreign correspondents visited Imbabah, however, they did not contact us or any of the state's departments, particularly the Information Department. They wrote whatever they liked. This made "Jabir" himself say: The foreign correspondents made me feel important and something... and (..) and (..) [ellipses and parentheses as received].

The foreign correspondents then said that what they wrote about Imbabah was exaggerated. They praised the Egyptian security apparatus.

[AL-AHRAM] Is there a unified organization for these groups in the Arab countries?

[Musa] Yes, there is. That is why they were gripped with panic when the "Salsabil" case was unearthed. This case has revealed the secrets of the organization not only on the Egyptian and regional levels, but also on the world level. The secrets revealed all the directions given to the various groups.

[AL-AHRAM] Without revealing any security secrets, could you tell us the features and identity of this organization?

[Musa] The organization's goal is to assume power. The "Salsabil" case explains how the organization wanted to achieve this goal.

[AL-AHRAM] We reiterate that we are convinced that the goal is to take power, that the basic motivation is political, and that foreign forces are helping finance and plan the incidents. Allow me to say that what you have said so far shows that there is no material evidence about the identity of the organization.

[Musa] I do not want to reveal more secrets. But we have clear-cut evidence. The confessions made by the defendants in cases 23 and 24, against which death sentences were passed, demonstrate that the terrorist organization is an international organization which has its own formations and guidance offices on Egyptian and regional levels as well as on the world level. This organization has branches in Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, and other places. It also has offices in Germany, Austria, England, and others. We know the names of the members of these offices, whether they are Egyptians, Arabs, or others. Every piece of information is recorded on the Salsabil computer "discs." That is why they are gripped with panic.

[AL-SHARQ] You and brother Mahmud Murad held a closed seminar recently attended by representatives of official and scientific quarters. The discussions during the seminar revolved around Sudan. The issue of terrorists camps in Sudan was also raised during the seminar. Is this true? Do you have any material evidence? We need facts.

[Musa] I did not say there are camps in Sudan. I said that some of the terrorists were in Afghanistan and they tried

to enter Egypt via Sudan. They failed. But they entered from al-Sallum, which is on the Egyptian-Libyan border. They admitted this.

[AL-AHRAM] Are there any security contacts with the Arab countries which are concerned with the issue of terrorism and which were mentioned in the unified organization?

[Musa] The Arab interior ministers will meet on 4 January. I will, God willing, attend this meeting, which will focus on coordination and security cooperation.

[AL-AHRAM] Since these groups have a unified international organization, have you contacted the countries where terrorist centers exist so as to control them?

[Musa] These things are governed by bilateral and international agreements, and by the Interpol agreement and system. We move within these limits.

[AL-SHARQ] Why does the Salsabil case anger the Muslim Brotherhood?

[Musa] We are against anyone engaged in secret, illegal activity. As regards the Salsabil case, we have already brought three groups to trial; other groups are yet to be tried; the issue is not yet over.

But I assure you, the entire network of terrorism has been fully exposed to us. We have reached its secrets, and we are about to finish with the question of these outlaws.

[AL-QABAS, Kuwait] How do you view the drafting of an integrated model plan to be implemented on an Arab level to eradicate this danger?

[Musa] We are ready to cooperate with our Arab brothers. If they are willing, we welcome the exchange of views and solidarity. This has been our policy, even during the estrangement. The president has always instructed that we should not refrain from security cooperation.

[AL-AHRAM] As the confrontation between police and terrorism rages, there is need for taking care of police personnel.

[Musa] We are trying to provide the best care possible. The Higher Police Council enjoys full powers and can make decisions even if against the will of the minister. As regards social care, the amounts paid by the Police Fund have increased. On last year's police day, the first high-standard police hospital was opened, and in the upcoming police day—25 January 93—we will open the second hospital in the Police Academy, and yet a third hospital will later be opened at the Central Security headquarters.

As for wages, the policeman's salary and allowances may equal, double, or triple of those earned by his colleagues in other ministries. There is also the Social Care Fund, which pays generous rewards on retirement or death. It has been decided that when an officer of any rank dies, his family should receive the allowance paid for officers of the rank of a major general. This has actually been done recently. Indeed, the family of a first lieutenant who died two days ago before joining the fund received the same amount of money as an honor for him. As regards armament and training, we introduced new methods and equipment. Honestly, the government has not been stingy with the police.

[AL-AHRAM] Do you still believe dialogue with the terrorists is futile?

[Musa] There are two types of terrorists. It is possible to talk with the first type but dialogue with the other is useless. The terrorist who killed martyr Subhi, for example, was in prison. Some interceded on his behalf and he was released to meet his sick old father. But in return for this humanitarian gesture, he committed murder. We tried to hold a dialogue with them, and some virtuous 'ulema and professors participated, but it did not work.

Libya

Sabotage Considered as Cause of Airliner Crash

Western Services Blamed

LD2512164092 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1540 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Dec (JANA)—Masses of worshipers took to the streets after Friday prayers today in an angry march toward the headquarters of the United Nations in Tripoli.

Participants in this angry march denounced the unjust Resolution 748 and the tragedies it has caused, which have beset the Libyan Arab people, children, elderly, and women. They have urged the Arab countries to undertake a serious practical position that would put an end to the injustice to which the Libyan Arab people are being subjected.

They have also denounced the conspiracy being carried out by the enemies—not only against the Great Jamahiriyah, but also against the Arab nation—using the United Nations, which has now come under the domination of superpowers. They have urged the Arab and Islamic countries and all the small peoples to overcome this injustice and set up a bloc between them so as to realize true international security and peace.

They shouted slogans against the siege imposed against the Great Jamahiriyah and against the reports that are beginning to emerge about the implication of Western intelligence services in the Libyan Arab airliner disaster. They stressed in speeches that they are still waiting for the result of the investigation in this matter.

Sudanese Source Comments

LD2612115892 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1050 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, 26 Dec (JANA)—A Sudanese political source has commented on international news agency reports about the possible disaster befalling a Libyan Airlines plane's flight No. 1103 on 22 December as a result of an act of sabotage. The Sudanese source said it is not unlikely that the disaster was caused by some quarters which seek revenge from the Great Jamahiriyah which was unjustly blamed for the crash of the Pan Am plane on 22 December, 1988.

The source noted the similarity and proximity of the numbers of the two flights and their occurrence in the same month, saying that these concomitants could provide a pointer to the identity of the quarters implicated in such a criminal act which is completely devoid of humanity. The source said that if this likelihood proves to be true, then this act will meet with collective denunciation from all peace and humanity loving peoples. The source affirmed its confidence in the Jamahiriyah's ability to overcome this difficult ordeal with fortitude and wisdom in a manner compatible with international and human laws and values.

Concluding, the source offered its condolences to the relatives of the victims of all nationalities, praying to Almighty God to bestow his gracious mercy on these victims.

Paper Blames Western 'Conspiracy'

LD2612154792 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1100 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, 26 Jan (JANA)—AL-JAMAHIRIYAH has stressed that "the Arabs now face a historic choice: either their hearts and swords are with us, or they show that they are heartless and are insensitive to the innocent Arab blood which was shed unjustly and aggressively."

The paper said in an article published today entitled "Who Brought Down the Libyan Passenger Plane?" that "despite all the West has said about relations, friendship, and cooperation for the sake of peace and security, this boils down to no more than idle talk, while they are still striving for more domination and are mulling over our subjection to it. [Word indistinct] an enemy which was brought up on hatred for us and which has been nurtured on one crusade after another. This being the case, that state will never turn into a friend while it has the means and nature that consecrates its haughtiness and arrogance."

The paper went on to ask: Who deluded you into believing that it is possible for historic enemies—who have killed and enslaved and violated our sanctities—to believe in dialogue? The West, that tyranny, does not know any meaning of [word indistinct] and fraternity other than to continue killing us until it became adept at this [words indistinct] portraying to us injustice as justice and evil as good, for the cowardly and simple-minded of my nation to believe in, and to participate shamelessly in the crimes of our nation's enemy, knowing that they are walking toward their death tomorrow.

It says: Thus and quite simply the Arabs tell us that we are brothers of [words indistinct] and that we are right but he—the Arab, [words indistinct] his enemy at the time of committing crimes against us also committed against [words indistinct] for long years. What logic then is this that the Arab man should be a partner of the racist West—the barbaric and savage West—through its aggression against us?

The paper asks: How can the Arab hand shake the Western hand—the hand which is stained with the blood of the innocent children, women, and old folk? How can this or that state continue its relations with the colonialist West? How can the Arabs continue their contacts with the terrorist West which has caused disruption of the communications among ourselves through the sanctions crime?

The paper concludes its article by saying [words indistinct] toward the states which still have close links with the West and which they insist they want to maintain. They are only confirming their stupidity while they call on us to reconsider our relations with them.

While we clarify all this, we say with a loud voice that the crash of the Libyan airliner was one of the ugly crimes of the terrorist West. It was a conspiracy whose ("details) were prepared with great care. The evidence indicates that the crash of the plane was a conspiracy that was hatched by criminal Western hands and it is certain that when the investigations are ("complete) this will be spelled out accurately.

Russia Sends Condolences

LD2612144492 Tripoli JANA in English 1422 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, al Kanoun [December] 26, JAMAHIRIYA NEWS AGENCY—The leader of the revolution received condolences from the Russian Government for the victims of the painful Libyan Arab airliner [words indistinct].

Reaction to U.S. Downing of Aircraft Reported

Plane Shot Down by 'Evil Alliance'

JN2712170092 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1620 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Brother listeners, a military spokesman has stated the following: While one of our aircraft was carrying out its routine patrol duties over our national soil and within our boundaries this morning, one of the aircraft of the evil alliance intercepted it at 1105, and this unfortunately led to the crashing of our aircraft.

We are confident that this criminal action by the countries of the imperialist-Zionist aggression against Iraq and the Arab nation will be indignantly received by the masses of our people and nation and will be denounced by world public opinion.

While we hold the aggressors responsible for this criminal aggression which can only be explained by evil premeditated designs, we reserve for ourselves the right to reply to this aggression in the appropriate manner and time. God is great.

Envoy Says 'Isolated' Incident

NC2712211992 Paris AFP in English 2046 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] United Nations, Dec 27 (AFP)—Iraq is willing to allow United Nations guards to accompany humanitarian aid convoys destined for the Kurds in northern Iraq, Iraqi Ambassador Nizar Hamdun said Sunday.

Hamdun told AFP that he had told Jan Eliasson, head of all UN relief operations, that Baghdad is "ready to accept" the UN guards in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Hamdun also dismissed the notion that Sunday's downing of an Iraqi warplane by a U.S. fighter jet over southern Iraq would cause renewed tension, characterizing the incident as "isolated."

Press Comments

JN2812090192 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0735 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Baghdad, 28 Dec (INA)—The Iraqi newspapers published here today have condemned the dastardly crime committed by the United States and the members of the 30-state aggression alliance [words indistinct] downing of one of our aircraft while it was carrying out routine patrol duties over our national soil.

In their editorials, the newspapers describe this crime as "a cowardly act, a condemnable crime, as well as an aggression that cannot hide the defeat of the failing Bush."

The newspaper AL-THAWRAH, mouthpiece of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, says that this insolent aggression by the aggressors was unjustifiable because our aircraft neither attacked anyone, nor were on missions targeting any side or country.

The paper adds that the failing Bush cannot justify his new aggression by any of the blatant lies he has been telling for more than two years.

The paper indicates that "what prompts Bush to continue his aggressive crimes against Iraq is his realization that he will leave the White House and go into black oblivion and neglect, carrying with him his defeat in the face of the Iraqis' steadfastness."

The paper adds: "The impasse of Bush, his allies, and agents cannot be obscured or denied. This is because this impasse lies in their defeat in the face of Iraq and also in the survival of Iraq in terms of its leadership, will, renaissance, loftiness, reconstruction, and edifice."

AL-THAWRAH goes on to say: "While reserving the right to reply to this aggression in the suitable method and at the appropriate time, Iraq has full confidence in its people and nation, and also in the popular indignation that will be unleashed in the face of the failing criminal Bush."

AL-THAWRAH stresses that this raging anger is the response of the Iraqis, the Arabs, and all honest people in the world to the continuation of arrogance and disregard of people's rights, sovereignty, and will, and to the daily encroachment on international legitimacy and international law.

The paper stresses that Iraq, which faced the 30-state aggression and whose will was not shaken by 100,000 raids or by the blockade, will not be shaken by a new minor crime of aggression. Iraq will choose its militant methods and their time. Iraq possesses sufficient awareness, patience, and determination to continue its course and path from which it will never deviate.

AL-QADISIYAH, speaking on behalf of the Defense Ministry, says: The downing of the Iraqi plane constitutes blatant aggression and flagrant provocation, and reveals the wicked, cowardly actions of the 30-state alliance against Iraq's sovereignty.

The paper adds that this wicked, cowardly act, which shows blatant hostility and rude violation of international charters and norms, also embodies the criminal spirit that has obsessed the defeatist Bush against the people of Iraq and their historic leadership, as well as against the Arab nation.

AL-QADISIYAH stresses that these wicked and treacherous attempts and acts, which the criminal Bush continues to practice, cannot weaken the Iraqis, but will increase their anger and hatred for this scoundrel, who lost vision and insight in his dealing not only with the people of Iraq, but also with world people who have been humiliated by the new world order.

The paper notes that this criminal act, which shows the criminal hostility of the leaders of the 30-state aggression

led by the defeated Bush, expresses the bankruptcy and frustration felt by those evil enemies of humanity, who are falling one after another like flies. The paper adds that Iraq, its leadership, its creative and muzahid people, and its heroic Army, which is known for its epic-like acts, view with disdain and condemn this act from which the criminal Bush was not far away.

The paper stresses that Iraq reserves the right to respond in the manner and at the time its leadership deems appropriate, at which time Iraq will wreak double retaliation on Bush and all the aggressive evil ones. The paper says that Iraq no longer fears anyone as long as right is on its side.

AL-JUMHURIYAH newspaper says: Prior to the end of his political career the criminal Bush added a new crime to his string of ugly crimes against the Iraqi people, when his aircraft shot down an Iraqi plane over our national airspace.

The paper adds: By committing this act, the criminal Bush once again commits aggression against Iraq, something that never can be tolerated. Our people, who demonstrated unique heroism when they confronted the 30-state aggression and all the sophisticated weapons of mass destruction used in this aggression, know well how their overwhelming anger at the new aggression will turn into a revolution against this dirty criminal and his vile means to harass the people of Iraq and infringe on their national sovereignty.

The paper adds that the Bush administration should know well that the crime of downing the plane is an additional factor that will deepen anger and vindictiveness toward it, as well as an element of strength and cohesion for Iraqi national unity behind the leadership of President Saddam Husayn.

The paper says that this cowardly act recalls the ongoing criminal acts committed by Bush against the Iraqis and drives these acts home in our minds and in the minds of our sons and grandchildren.

The paper adds: If the international conspiracy fabricated by the enemies and criminals against Iraq has allowed the aggression aircraft to violate our skies over some areas, this does not mean that we will allow them to violate our sovereignty and attack our aircraft.

The paper urges all honorable people in the world to denounce this crime, saying that the world and its international organizations should not be bystanders to this deliberate aggression against Iraq's sovereignty. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, if it has any independence left, should condemn this aggression and denounce the administration of the criminal Bush which has overstepped its bounds.

In its editorial, the newspaper AL-*IRAQ* says: Once again, the defeated criminal Bush, whose presidential term has only a few days to run, has committed further blunders and acts of aggression against lofty Iraq to show his unlimited hatred of and rancor against our country and people, who forced him to taste the bitterness of defeat and to fall in the abyss of eternal disgrace.

The paper describes the violation of our airspace and the shooting down of one of our planes over our territory by aircraft of the aggressive alliance as a new crime to be added to the series of crimes perpetrated by the United States against our people and country during the era of the criminal Bush.

The paper explains that the new American crime must put all the governments and peoples who aspire for a better future, free of foreign trusteeship, before their national responsibilities to confront such reckless adventures, which seek to keep the Third World weak, place it under the U.S. hammer, and remove all nationalist slogans from the honorable record of which millions of strugglers for freedom in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are proud.

The paper says: If the criminal Bush imagines that this crime will go unpunished, then he is deluded and deceives only his own sick, evil person. This is because forgetting the acts of scoundrels and murderers like him is not an Iraqi characteristic.

In conclusion, the paper says: The Iraqis—who under their triumphant leader Saddam Husayn daily are scoring glorious deeds in all fields of work, reconstruction, and river-making—will remain loyal to their principles and genuine values of noble life. They will never be affected by such violations. In fact, this will strengthen their determination to foil all chapters of aggression.

Saddam on U.S., Turkish Ties, Hammer Force

NC261210Z0092 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Dec 92 p 15

[First installment of a two-part interview with President Saddam Husayn by former Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and MILLIYET columnist Derya Sazak in Baghdad on 19 December]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

Situation in Northern Iraq

[Saddam] Mr. Ecevit, I am very happy to have met you and your friends from MILLIYET.

The presence of the foreign forces in what has been called the "security zone" and in Turkey is an extension of the hostile attack launched against us by the alliance which has been established by nearly 30 countries. The presence of that force in our region has made us uneasy.

You and the Turkish people are aware of the situation which existed in northern Iraq before the hostile aggression against our country began. [passage omitted]

Well, how were the relations between Turkey and Iraq at the time? How was the security situation on the Iraqi-Turkish border? You yourself have said that favorable relations existed between Turkey and Iraq before the incidents. We had favorable economic relations and we were promoting them. Security existed on the Iraqi-Turkish border and it was controlled by the two countries. In brief, that was the situation in northern Iraq before the aggression against our country began. Security prevailed in the border between the two countries.

What about the situation which emerged after the foreign forces arrived in Turkey? Has the situation of the Kurds in northern Iraq improved from the economic, social, and psychological viewpoints? Has it improved from the point of view of security? I am convinced that a conscientious reply to these questions would be "no." The Kurds' situation has not improved after the hostile attack on Iraq. A comparison between the Kurds' situation before the hostile attack on Iraq and their distressful condition, not to mention their problems, at present will reveal that their situation has not improved and that they are no longer able to work toward prosperity in confidence.

The Embargo Is Harmful

[Saddam] The reply thousands of families in Turkey will give to the same questions when they consider the economic relations between Turkey and Iraq in the past and their economic links at present is obvious. The economic embargo imposed on our country has shattered the economic relations between Turkey and Iraq. The embargo has harmed the two countries' economies.

If you asked me about the question of border security between the two countries after the deployment of the foreign forces in the region, then I would tell you that I believe you already know the answer to that question. Each and every Turkish citizen is aware that the level of border security was much higher before the foreign forces arrived in the region.

Certain circles have claimed that withdrawing the foreign forces will cause a wave of emigration from Iraq to Turkey. My view, however, is that a wave of emigration will not occur if the Iraqi Government is allowed to establish security in northern Iraq within the framework of the laws. No one would wish to emigrate from an area that enjoys stability. All the Iraqi citizens in Turkey and Iran will return to live in that region when law and order is established. The Iraqi Kurds did not emigrate to Turkey and Iran with the idea of settling in those countries. The claim that withdrawing the foreign forces would cause a wave of emigration to Turkey and Iran is part of the effort to oppress Iraq. I attribute this claim to those who pretend to care for the Kurds more than the Iraqi Government does. [passage omitted]

Reaction to Hammer Force

[Ecevit] [passage omitted] Where can Hammer Force be redeployed in our region if it is withdrawn from Turkey?

Had Turkey Been Impartial

[Saddam] Before giving a direct reply, I wish to ask myself the following questions: Was Turkey's economic situation generally better before the foreign forces were deployed in the region, or is it better now? Was security and the Turkish people's psychological situation better before the foreign forces were deployed in the region, or are they better now?

I do not wish to put you in a difficult situation by waiting for you to reply to these questions. In view of this, I will reply to them in accordance with my own views and the information I have compiled from publications and research work. Do the Turks realize that they have sustained a strategic loss—that is, do they realize that they have suffered a long-term loss as a result of the deployment of foreign forces on their territory and the problems we have mentioned? Another, parallel question is: Had Turkey maintained an impartial stand during the [Gulf] crisis and had it not allowed foreign forces to be deployed on its territory, would it not have had more influence at least over the Arab and Islamic countries, if not over the entire world?

We are convinced Turkey would have been in a better position now, because we make comparisons based on positive actions which will leave traces in the moral sense, and not in accordance with dangerous activities.

The U.S. influence in the world is no stronger now than it was before it attacked Iraq. It may be true that more countries fear the United States today, but several countries that do not fear the United States have emerged. If that is the United States' situation following the operation it commanded, then what does Turkey stand to gain from it?

Mr. Ecevit, let us now consider the question you have asked. No, I do not believe any country around Iraq will agree to host Hammer Force.

Iraq's Territorial Integrity

[Ecevit] [passage omitted] So-called local elections were held in northern Iraq early last summer. Normally, mayors and the members of municipal administrations are elected in local elections; however, a parliament and then a government was established in northern Iraq instead. A constitution was drawn up and put into effect as well. Meanwhile, the people in northern Iraq were given the citizenship of Kurdistan. Furthermore, an army was established. Mr. President, how do you assess these developments? Can you comment on the future of that de facto state?

A So-Called Guarantee

[Saddam] Any ailment will become chronic if not treated within a certain period. Various statements are made either to gain time or to remove certain shortcomings. But we must agree that statements also are made to be put implemented. Whatever is said gains value only as

long as it is implemented. The statements in the joint communiques that were issued after the meeting in Turkey and the one held by a number of Western countries seemed to stress the importance of maintaining Iraq's territorial integrity. They also seemed to reject the idea of Iraq's fragmentation. But they are not realistic. The reality we have observed is as follows. The structure that is being established in northern Iraq is approached as if it is an entity independent from Iraq. Turkey and the Western countries are cooperating in that regard.

The 36th parallel is in northern Iraq, and the 32d parallel is in the southern part of our country. If Iraq has not been divided thus far, it is because of the Iraqi people's opposition to division, not because of the opposition of the Western countries and Turkey. Furthermore, Turkey has facilitated the effort made by the Western countries to establish a security zone in Iraq. The Western countries wish to provide food for the Iraqi people in that so-called security zone. Meanwhile, a ban has been imposed on Iraq selling oil to meet the needs of its people in the northern, central, and southern parts of the country. Therefore, the words and deeds are completely different.

A New Wave of Emigration and...

[Sazak] Mr. President, is it not true that the deployment of foreign forces in Turkey was the outcome of the Gulf war? We probably cannot blame Turkey for the worsening of the crisis? Had the Kurds not been forced to emigrate toward the north and reach the border after the war ended, the picture would have been completely different. Yes, it is true that anxiety exists in Turkey over the presence of Hammer Force in the region. But there is another serious worry as well. The conviction exists that a new wave of emigration may be unavoidable if Hammer Force withdraws. Can you give any guarantee or assurance in addition to the statement you have expressed that you will not force the Kurds to emigrate from northern Iraq?

[Saddam] I wish to point out that no one can give a guarantee to a foreign force in connection with his own nation. For example, can Iran ask you to give a guarantee for the Kurds in Turkey or for any part of the Turkish nation? Would you give such a guarantee to Iran? Allow me to reply to ..ty question. No, Turkey will never agree to give such a guarantee. Why not? Well, it would conflict with the right to sovereignty. Such a guarantee would mean the violation of the commitments of a state toward its nation for the sake of foreign forces. That also applies to Iraq, which is an independent country and which safeguards its people's interests. The Iraqi Administration has adopted laws to allow the Iraqi citizens in other countries to return. In fact, it has declared an amnesty so that those who have committed crimes also may return. An amnesty has been declared several times in 1992 for that purpose. They apply not only to the Kurds of Iraq, but to all the Iraqi people, that is, the people in the north, the central regions, and the southern part of the country. We protect the Iraqi people's interests in the way we protect our eyes and even more so.

I wish to say that the reason for the presence of Western forces in the region is not to defend the people in northern Iraq, as has been claimed. The only reason is to prepare the ground for Western governments to directly interfere in our internal affairs. That objective applies to all of Iraq and not only to the northern area. They have adopted this approach because they failed to realize their main plans against Iraq.

[Sazak] Do you believe that they planned to divide Iraq?

[Saddam] Yes, but they have failed to achieve their objective. They failed to destroy the people's will and bring their agents to power in Iraq. The Western forces established themselves in northern Iraq to prevent the initiatives made by the Iraqi Armed Forces to establish law and order in that part of the country after the well-known incidents in the region. I will reply to your question as follows. It is common knowledge that the incidents began in the form of acts of terrorism, robbery, and killings, as called for by th- plans that were drawn up by the Western countries. Ah that was an extension of the military aggression. The incidents began first in southern Iraq. The people in the region left the area when the military operations began. Part of our people in southern Iraq sought shelter in Iran. Well, why have the Western countries failed to establish a security zone in southern Iraq? The reason is that they failed to find agents in southern Iraq similar to those in northern Iraq, agents who felt close to them. If security measures have been put into effect in the northern part of the 36th parallel to prevent the Kurds from emigrating from that region, then why have similar measures not been implemented in the southern part of the 32d parallel? The Western countries apparently were aware that opportunities which allow the establishment of agent-like relations in northern Iraq are very few in the south. Furthermore, they were aware that the Iraqi people would destroy the agent-like institutions when they withdrew from the region. As such, the people in northern Iraq will live in peace and security as a part of Iraq.

Meanwhile, I wish to stress that we have not drawn up a plan for a military operation to force the people in northern Iraq to emigrate once again. Nevertheless, we shall establish rule of law in northern Iraq when the situation is normalized. I also wish to say clearly that we are ready to hold an open dialogue with any neighboring country that may be anxious about future developments. I would like to stress that we are ready to hold a dialogue without harming the national interests of the neighboring countries or those of Iraq.

No to Federation

[Sazak] Mr. President, what you have said has explained your approach to the problem. That is because the impression in foreign countries is that the Iraqi Administration is not concerned with the establishment of a federal state in northern Iraq at all and will not obstruct

that process because it has given up northern Iraq. Do you believe that the situation in northern Iraq, which has slipped from your control, will force you to agree to a federation?

[Saddam] We drew up a program for autonomy for our people in northern Iraq a long time ago. We still uphold that program. We do not have another program for anything else. No, we definitely do not consider the concept of federation. [passage omitted]

Turkey Will Be Divided if Iraq Is Divided

[Saddam] [passage omitted] The colonial powers were careful to maintain the question of oil as a problem that was unique to the Middle East for a very long time. They placed Middle East oil in the hands of small groups and deprived the masses of the benefits from the oil. I believe that the neocolonialists maintain the same strategy. That is why the neocolonialists wish to have Iraq divided in accordance with that strategy. What should be realized is that Turkey and Iran also will be divided if Iraq is fragmented. In view of this, the Turks should not believe that the neocolonialists will give oil resources to Turkey to make it a wealthy and strong country. Iraq, Iran, and Turkey must closely follow the plans of the neocolonialists and take the necessary measures, starting now.

Regarding the problem of Khakurk, I have said that our people are united on the question of rights and responsibilities.

We Shall Fight for Khakurk

[Saddam] We look at Khakurk the same way we look at Baghdad. Regarding Iraq's future and the policy we will adopt in the future, I can say that we will make every effort to see to it that Khakurk is developed as much as Baghdad is. That will undermine the plans made for division. I believe that the neocolonialists are aware of our determination in that regard. The colonial forces are also aware that Iraq will regard any special plan they may put into effect regarding Khakurk as a cause of war. [passage omitted]

Peace Call to Washington

[Saddam] I wish to ask Mr. Ezevit to reply to the question on whether peace and security existed in northern Iraq before the country was attacked.

[Ezevit] An effort to persuade me in that regard will not serve any end. What is important is to prevent the West from using that excuse. A new development has taken place in the region. Whether we like it or not, the United States continues to maintain its influence. Presidential elections have been held in the United States. President Bush has lost his presidency to Bill Clinton. The U.S. Administration's policy against Iraq during the Bush era seemed like a personal matter for Bush to a certain degree. We do not know at this moment whether the Clinton administration will maintain that policy or change it. I believe Bill Clinton will not regard the U.S. policy as a personal matter, as in the case of President Bush. Therefore, a more moderate policy may be expected. Nevertheless, I believe that a number of steps on your part to facilitate a more moderate U.S. policy would be useful.

[Saddam] The United States is a great country. It has a population of several million people. It does not depend on any country in the technological field, and it has developed its economy. Therefore, it is normal that it should have a certain degree of influence on world politics. Nevertheless, we are convinced that its influence should be in the direction of common interests and dialogues. Common interests must be established between the peoples of the world. We believe that interaction among peoples is a positive factor. Nevertheless, a significant difference exists between influence based on legitimate foundations and that based on aggression.

Mr. Clinton's victory will depend on the positive changes he is expected to make in the U.S. economy. But it is common knowledge that Bush was running according to certain slogans. He raised the question of U.S. superiority in the world and linked U.S. sovereignty with military power. A link was established between his policy toward Iraq and his chances of winning the presidential elections. I do not know who established that link. What was expected was that Bush would win the election as a result of his foreign policy successes. Meanwhile, Iraq would have been divided and the Iraqi leaders would have been destroyed. Yes, that was Bush's most serious mistake.

It has been said that the United States is a great country which has interests in all countries. We do not disagree with the view that the United States should maintain favorable relations on legitimate grounds with all countries, relations which would be based on the UN Charter. In fact, these were the principles on which our international relations were based before our country was attacked. We always are open to friendly relations. We always have supported the idea of establishing positive relations with the countries in the world, including the United States. But these relations always must be based on the right foundations.

Let us consider the name of the foreign forces on our territory at present. The Bush administration must have either suggested that name or given it to them itself. They are called the "Hammer Force." They believe that Iraq will fear that name. Iraq was not afraid of all the hammers used against it on the night of 16-17 January 1991. Iraq never will fear a hammer which has been cast away in a corner of Turkey. Iraq approached the matter from the view of "righteousness and falsehood." Iraq will not be afraid when it is right. However, it will retreat when it realizes that it is wrong. It has to retreat. God has drawn us back, and all the Western countries will retreat in accordance with God's wish.

More on Interview

NC2712094992 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 25 Dec 92 p 11

[Second installment of a two-part interview with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn by former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and MILLIYET columnist Derya Sazak in Baghdad; date not given]

[Text]

Saddam and Democratization

[Ecevit] Mr. President, I have a number of short questions. The first is this: It has become obvious that even if you fully implement the UN Security Council resolutions, the economic embargo against your country will be maintained under the pretext that you have not fully complied with them. The United States stands behind this plan. The U.S. Administration has maintained that it will neither establish relations with Baghdad nor lift the pressure on Iraq as long as Saddam Husayn remains in power. I believe, however, that Iraq will continue to safeguard its rights regardless of who is in power in the country. Therefore, Mr. President, would you consider taking certain concrete steps toward democratization? Would you consider sharing your responsibilities with other officials within the framework of a more participatory system? I believe that such a system would prevent a single official from becoming a target. Consequently, the U.S. plans could be foiled.

[Saddam] I wish to draw your attention to the following. We have a parliament, which is known as the National Council. Free and democratic elections were held to elect the members of that parliament. Among its powers is calling ministers and the prime minister to account and asking the head of state to relieve them of their responsibilities. Meanwhile, our executive authority is made up of a prime minister and a Council of Ministers. Plus we have three vice presidents, one of whom is the deputy head of the Revolution Command Council. It is normal that a certain amount of time is required to realize a number of procedures. The political activities will gain momentum in accordance with the situation in the country and in accordance with the time factor.

You are already aware that several political parties exist in Iraq in addition to the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party. They currently maintain their functions in the country. We recently adopted a law to allow the establishment of new political parties. That law also allows the political parties to publish their own newspapers.

Peace Talks

[Ecevit] Mr. President, thank you. I have another question. A new "peace process" has been initiated to solve the Palestinian problem through negotiations. Although the process and the talks are on the U.S. agenda, I am convinced that you made a significant contribution toward the start of the negotiations. You annexed Kuwait once, but you said that settling the Palestinian problem was one of your conditions to withdraw from that country. You established a link between your withdrawal and settling the Palestinian problem. Although the United States rejected it at the time, your approach had a significant effect on international public opinion. That is why the United States was forced to take certain steps to have the Palestinian issue resolved following the Gulf War. What approach will you adopt if an agreement is reached through the talks, an agreement that satisfies the Palestinians and safeguards their rights and future? Would you support a reconciliation acceptable to the Palestinian people?

[Saddam] I wish to stress at this point that the U.S. approach has been a tactical policy so far. It is not based in any way on the rights of the Palestinian people. President Bush's approach on the proposals Iraq put forward to have the crisis in 1990 resolved created the following impression: He believed that he could solve all the problems in the world. He did not wish to give Saddam Husayn an opportunity to find a package agreement to have any one of the problems solved, so he had the peace talks with the Palestinians start off on a very slippery basis.

Our views on the matter are as follows: The Palestinian people must be able to defend their rights in a reasonable and appropriate way and under equal conditions through their legal representatives, who they themselves will elect. They must be allowed to maintain the talks on a basis that will give them the opportunity to decide what to accept and what to reject. Meanwhile, the whole world must respect the Palestinian people's free will. A proposal by Iraq or any other country on the matter is out of the question. What is important is only the representation of the Palestinian people's will. Iraq will respect the will of the Palestinian people. It will respect the decision to be made by the Palestinian people on whether to accept or reject a solution.

Message to the Demirel Government

[Sazak] Mr. President, the Motherland Party was in power in Turkey when the Gulf War began. Mr. Turgut Ozal was the president. A new government came to power later. Mr. Suleyman Demirel now heads the Coalition Government. You received Mr. Erdal Inonu, the leader of one of the coalition partners, some time ago. Have you found the more moderate approach you expected from Turkey in the Demirel era? Do you have a message for Turkey or the Turkish Government?

[Saddam] I will be happy to convey a message to the friendly people of Turkey in general. Regarding the Demirel government, I believe that it has been informed on our views concerning the interests of the two countries. Turkey and Iraq are neighbors and our peoples are Islamic. The Iraqi people do not wish to emigrate or change their territory. Countries cannot be shifted from one place to another. I believe this also applies to the Turkish people. Nor do the Turkish people wish to

change their geographic location and national characteristics. In view of this, we have to consider the long-term interests of the two peoples. This means that we always have to maintain favorable relations. The Iraqi and Turkish peoples must resist the evil forces jointly which use even the most insignificant opportunities to create discord between us.

"The War Could Have Been Avoided"

[Sazak] Mr. President, this is my last question: I read the memoirs of [Yevgeniy] Primakov, Gorbachev's former adviser, on the Gulf situation. His book is entitled: "The War Could Have Been Avoided." Many aspects of the Gulf War have become history, including President Bush. Nevertheless, you are still in power. Can you describe the feeling? An embargo has been imposed on Iraq. Your people are suffering. Is it not true that Iraq would have been in a better position if the war had been averted?

[Saddam] I will reply to your question this way: Yes, the war could have been avoided. That would have been better. The final initiative aimed at preventing it was made by the Gorbachev administration in the former Soviet Union. Primakov proposed a solution at the time. However, the statements made by Western officials after the cease-fire and the memoirs of General Schwarzkopf have revealed that the Western powers were very determined to kindle a war. It is normal to hope that a war will not break out. However, a war has been fought. We have to thank God for everything.

[Ecevit] Mr. President, I, too, have a final question; it will complement Mr. Sazak's question. You will recall the heavy sanctions that were imposed on Germany and Japan after World War II. Significant limits were imposed on the rearming of the two countries. Nevertheless, they used the restrictions to their own advantage. They developed their economic strength by channeling their resources toward development. You will agree that economic strength and not military power makes countries strong these days. The fact that Iraq has been able to remove almost all the damage it suffered as a result of the war and the fact that it has been able to repair many of the destroyed buildings, bridges, and installations with its own resources in less than two years following the war indicates that it has great economic potential, a significant technological standing, and a large skilled labor force. Considering this, I wish to ask whether you would support an agreement for a balanced reduction in arms in the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean, that is, if the opportunity arose for the conclusion of such an agreement. It is true that concluding an agreement in that regard seems difficult right now, but would you take part in it?

Regional Arms Reductions

[Saddam] First, I wish to point out that Iraq's situation is not similar to that of Germany and Japan. The military restrictions imposed on Germany and Japan were aimed at protecting the Western countries after the war. The restrictions on Iraq were aimed at ruining our country and destroying the Iraqi Armed Forces. A conspiracy was drawn up to realize that intention. The Kuwaiti Government also supported it. Iraq did not threaten the Western countries, as in the case of Germany and Japan.

As for the second part of your question, I wish to say that we regard any solution that establishes security in the region, in accordance with the will of the regional peoples and governments, as a positive approach. We said that we supported the removal of arms from the region before the outbreak of the Gulf War, that is, before 2 August 1990. We said that we supported the removal of destructive arms—such as nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons—from the region. I discussed the matter with President Mubarak in 1990. I informed him that we definitely wanted these arms removed from the region. In fact, when he asked whether I had the authority to announce this to the public, I told him I did.

[Ecevit] I thank you for the valuable time you have given to us when you are so busy. I also thank you for briefing us on the matters we have discussed.

[Saddam] I am glad to have been able to meet you.

Controversy Over Palestinian Deportation Continues

U.S. Appeal Rejected

TA2412131992 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 24 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by Hemi Shalev]

[Excerpts] Israel has rejected a U.S. appeal to allow the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] deportees to settle in the security zone in southern Lebanon, political sources in Jerusalem said last night.

The U.S. appeal was made yesterday in a meeting with Israeli officials at the State Department in Washington. It was learned in the meeting, however, that Israel would allow the United Nations or the International Red Cross to transfer food to the deportees' encampment through the security zone. [passage omitted]

The assessment in the defense establishment is that the problem of deportees may be resolved "within a day or two." Defense elements believe that when the deportees exhaust every legal avenue in Israel and despair of returning, they will start taking action to lift the siege on them and to assimilate in Lebanon. [passage omitted]

Arab Committee Appeals to UN

TA2412140192 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 24 Dec 92 p 4

[Post Report]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Secretariat of the Supreme Arab Follow-Up Committee of the Arab population in Israel yesterday sent a telegram to UN Secretary Butrus Butrus-Ghali. The telegram requests that the UN extend protection to the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and Islamic Jihad activists and to act on their behalf for their return home. Secretariat representatives yesterday met with International Red Cross and UN representatives in Jerusalem, asking for their intervention in transferring collected supplies to the deportees. [passage omitted]

Peres on Deportations

TA2412140592 Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 24 Dec 92

["Press conference with Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, Jerusalem, December 23, 1992"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres. The main message is that the peace process will be continued with full force and attention, that the feeling prevails among us that on the eighth round of negotiations some progress was done, particularly on the Jordanian negotiations. I think there was a closing of some gaps between us and the Palestinians, and we feel that the last word was not yet said in our negotiations with the Syrians.

While maintaining the peace process as the major purpose of the present government, and while trying to bridge over the differences between us and the different parties with whom we negotiate, one must admit that both the Palestinians and us have to go through very difficult tests—neither simple for the Palestinians, nor simple for us.

For us, the problem is clear. Israel is a democracy, there is the rule of majority, and though maybe our views are divided, everybody without exception takes the rule of the majority as the decision-making process.

But then there is a continuing effort to kill the will for peace, to diminish the trust and the Arab goodwill by killing innocent people, by trying to introduce a sense of outrage in the Israeli population. We try to handle it with great care and patience, and only on very rare occasions we do have to take unusual steps to deliver a message—that Israel is not going to bend to the attempts to stop the peace process.

We can see the problem on the Arab side, on the Palestinian side. We can understand that the Palestinians, very much like us, are divided. It is normal. We are divided, they are divided. But they lack the machinery of decision-making. Whereas in Israel we have the rule of the majority, we are very much afraid that in the Palestinian case, there is the rule of the rifles, of violence. Not who represents the majority, but who can overpower the majority by violence.

May I say as a personal impression, in my judgment, the majority of the Palestinians are in favor of negotiations, and are in favor of peace. Furthermore, I do believe that most of them, at least many of them, do not see today a better alternative for the Palestinian cause than to go and negotiate and find a solution. The problem is there is a movement that opposes peace that uses arms. Would they only oppose peace, as a matter of opinion, it will not be too dangerous. But the minute they are trying to assassinate the people who are negotiating, to threaten the party that negotiates, to make a charter in order to kill the peace, in order to threaten Israel, it is a problem both for the Palestinians and for us.

We feel that Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] is this sort of a movement, with the declared aim to kill people in order to kill the peace process—and to kill people both on the Israeli side and on the Palestinian side. Not only Sergeant Nissim Toledano was assassinated in cold blood, but by luck was prevented the assassination of Palestinians including the life of Faysal al- Husayni and the lives of young people in schools in Jerusalem. I believe that the government of Israel is left without a choice but to stop this brutal attempt to decide with terror, to introduce terror, and to frustrate the peace movement on the Palestinian side and on our side.

It wasn't an easy time, neither for the Palestinians nor for us. But as the dust is subsiding, may I say that our deep feeling is that the peace process will go on, and I only add that some official spokesman—like the President of Egypt, King Husayn, the spokesman for Syria—did announce that

the peace process will be continued. After all, this is the only way out of the present difficulties.

We believe that the peace process will be renewed once the Clinton administration will take up its place. We were impressed by the declaration of President-elect Clinton yesterday afternoon. We have answered positively to the call of the secretary-general of the United Nations to send his deputy as an envoy of goodwill to the Middle East, and we shall try to do whatever we can to pacify the situation, to open the road to peace, to look for creative solutions so to cover the gaps which still exist between us and the various delegations, and to work as hard as we may to build a new Middle East for the benefit of all people, without exception—Arabs, Jews, others. A Middle East for the people, not a Middle East for the rulers. A Middle East of peace, not a Middle East of confrontation.

Q: I'd like to know if the Israeli Government will press the United States to ask Saudi Arabia to cease its support of Hamas, and whether Hamas will be made illegal?

A: The Hamas is outlawed already today, and Israel appealed to everybody not to support an organization which has sworn to kill people and to kill the peace process.

Q: First of all, what is your feeling about the government decision and do you support it? Second, the Palestinians would like to see the U.N. envoy speak about a return of the deportees. What would you like to see the U.N. envoy do here?

A: On your first question: I am a member of the cabinet. The Israeli cabinet is based on collective responsibility. I share fully the responsibility. The rest is totally irrelevant. On your second question, the United Nations is not a super-government. It cannot change a decision of the Israeli government because we consider our decisions as legally accepted.

Then, may I say, there are still some options for each of the deportees, if he wants to use, in a legal and reasonable way. Each of them, as a matter of fact, has the right to appeal before a committee, put his case as he sees it. If he is innocent, he has all the chances to come back home. So the deportees still must choose between the legal role and the political impression. The road is open to them legally, because Israel is a legal-oriented country. Let's not forget that they weren't deported forever. They were deported up to two years—from nine months to two years—and whatever legally can be done, is open to them.

Q: Could you answer though what your expectations are of the U.N. envoy's business?

A: I think that we can clarify to the U.N. envoy, what are the options open to the deportees, what are the steps necessary in order to guarantee the continuation of the peace process. The secretary general of the United Nations, in his call made by phone, described the mission of the envoy as a mission of goodwill, and we accepted it in that spirit. We shall really participate and cooperate in renewing the goodwill in the Middle East.

Q: Mr. Peres, you were quoted in today's YEDI'OT AHARONOT as saying that there should be no geographical or organizational limits on the Palestinians with whom Israel negotiates. Could you explain what you were talking about precisely? Were you calling for negotiations with the PLO?

A: What I meant is that the differences in the Palestinian camp are not characterized by geographic dimensions, but by political ones. I can see some people say, today in Tunisia, who may support the peace process—some persons, individuals, not the organization.

The present position, which is unchanged, of the Israeli Government is as follows: We are not ready to negotiate with the PLO because the PLO is still supporting violence and because its sole aim is to create a Palestinian state. On the other hand, we are ready to negotiate with the delegation which is in fact accepted by all parties, here and abroad, and we said it openly and clearly, that the Palestinian delegation has the right and the opportunity to consult with whomever they want.

Let me say the following: Suppose we had a choice—either to go into the intricacies of changing the negotiating team, or to go into the possibilities of closing the gaps between us and the Palestinians. To go into the merits, or to go into the administration. [sentence as received] We feel very strongly that the time at our disposal should be used clearly to close the gaps in the political sense, to work on the merits, because administratively speaking, there is a delegation. We are aware that the delegation is incomplete and faces a lot of problems, at home and abroad.

We strongly recommend to the Palestinians, without making specific conditions, that they will go and elect their leadership. That is the only chance, in my judgment: to substitute violence with elections; to replace bullets with ballots. We didn't make it a condition. But we recommend to the Palestinians, out of our own experience: Go and elect your leaders. We said: The elections of the leaders will be a political election. The leaders will not be administrative appointees. They will be politically elected people. They will have to report to the people who will elect them. We are ready to do it in a very short while. Because the Palestinians, too, must ask themselves: How are they going to impose the wish of the majority upon the threat of the minority, that has rifles and submachine guns.

Q: You just said that Israel is a legal country, it has a legal method. Why was it necessary to deny these 415 individuals the right to appeal to the High Court, which has been afforded all previous deportees? Why was it necessary to take them in the middle of the night and deny them that right?

A: We didn't deny them the right. The right was given for the duration of 60 days.

Q: What kind of elections are you referring to? When will this be? Who will be able to participate?

A: Every person that resides on the West Bank or Gaza will have the right to participate in the elections. We have estimated that the elections can take place in a matter of two to three months, or four months. We don't condition the date of the elections upon a complete agreement on the autonomy. We are ready that they will have elections first, and then to continue the negotiations. Namely, the elected people will have a double capacity to represent the Palestinians in the negotiations, and then to become the management of the self-government arrangements. It can be done soon, it can be done politically and fairly.

Q: What about Jerusalem?

A: On Jerusalem, the government didn't deal yet with the right of the Palestinians who are Jordanian citizens who reside in Jerusalem. The government did not yet deal with this problem. In the past, there was a suggestion of an absentee election. But right now it didn't come on the agenda, and I cannot tell you what the decision will be.

Q: You seem to be suggesting now that if somebody is elected that is clearly a PLO representative, that you would accept it.

A: Let me make it clear. If PLO is an idea, we are not going to censor ideas. If PLO is a violence, we shall not permit it. What is PLO? If PLO is a movement that says: 'We want to have a Palestinian state.' Everybody is free to advocate or to stand for whatever legally he wishes to do. The problem with the PLO is, first of all, that they are engaged in acts of violence, and even some acts that took place quite recently, unfortunately, were either directed or supported by the PLO. Even the head of the PLO did not call for an end to the violence. We are not going to censor the view of any Palestinian; and every Palestinian, no matter what his view is, provided he doesn't kill, he doesn't shoot, can vote and can be elected.

Q: Would you sit across the table from Faysal al-Husayni?

A: I met Faysal al-Husayni in the past, and it's not a matter of individuals. It is not for me to nominate Arab leaders or to elect them. I don't understand: why is there a request that Israel should nominate or elect the leaders of the Palestinian people? Let them do it. They didn't do, because they never had elections.

I was the defense minister in the '70s. In 1976 there were elections in the West Bank, honest and fair, without a single complaint. And it was implemented in the best possible way. I am speaking out of experience. We say: Go ahead and elect your leaders. It is not for me to nominate Faysal al-Husayni, to reject Faysal al-Husayni, to elect him, or anybody else. Let the Palestinians do their own elections. Let the Palestinians have their own choice.

Q: A Palestinian residing outside the West Bank, like in Jerusalem, Faysal al-Husayni; or like in Tunis, a certain Mr. 'Arafat. Could they be elected?

A: About Tunisia, it is out of the question, because the elections are concerning the people who reside here. About Jerusalem I did answer that no decision has been taken, and I am not ready to use this press conference to make the decision. There are many other issues that no decision was yet reached. The sense of the negotiations is to negotiate and to look for solutions. We are not looking for difficulties. We are looking for ways to overcome them. I feel that on many occasions we are successful in overcoming the differences and the difficulties.

Q: The expulsions have won the condemnation of practically every Palestinian in the world, from moderates to Islamic fundamentalists, even Israeli Arabs. How do you figure that this is going to help you, the moderates, or the peace process?

A: It puts the truth not only before us, but also before the Palestinians. I would ask every Palestinian: How are you going to guarantee that if your own people, a majority of them, are in favor of peace, how are you suggesting to prevent the killing of the wish of the majority? By hand grenades, by rifles, by mines? What is your suggestion? After all, the Palestinians cannot just complain. They must tell us, as a partner. The Palestinians have to tell us how are they going to impose peacefully the wish of their own majority upon their own people. Otherwise, a tiny little minority can kill the wish of the many.

Q: But even the moderates are saying: Why deport them? Why not put them on trial?

A: Some of them even said: Why not send them to death? This country has never had a death sentence, but on one occasion—in the case of Eichmann. In Israel, too, you have an argument. Some people say: 'Let's have capital punishment.' And we say: 'Look, we prefer the deportation, as difficult as it may sound, rather than to execute people.' What are they suggesting? How are we going to defend our own people? Because there was a terrible outrage in this country. Five persons, one after the other, and then again, were assassinated, and then again. The information that reached us was substantial: to kill children, to kill leaders. What should we do? What is the Palestinian proposal? The Palestinians cannot have that luxury, just to criticize or complain. They must have the obligation to suggest a serious alternative.

Q: You said there is a need for appeasement now, and I assume you meant appeasement towards the Palestinians. What specifically is Israel going to do to appease the Palestinians?

A: There are many suggestions on the agenda, like for example opening up the territories to a more active economic policy; to facilitate investment in the West Bank; to make the crossing of the bridges easier, financially and otherwise; to introduce a sense of respect and safety among the Palestinians as well. I believe it is to our

interest that the Palestinians residing on the West Bank and Gaza will feel at home, will feel safe, will be convinced that they are dealing with a party that is seriously interested in seeing them arriving at peace, arriving at a point when they can run their own lives. The self-government proposal is a clear departure from the present situation. It is an invitation to emerge to another destiny for the Palestinian people, whereas Israel is taking most of the risks and Israel is trying to introduce as much goodwill and assurances as we can.

Q: Why were these measures not taken before—the economy, the bridge restriction—and this will isolate the Hamas movement even before the deportation?

A: The Hamas movement is not connected with the realities of the situation in the West Bank. It has some theoretical desires, including the elimination of the State of Israel. They are in the domain of a purely religious fanaticism, and at a point where reason stops and unreasonable assumptions are beginning to take over.

Since the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, we consider Khomeynism as the greatest danger that the Middle East is facing—not only us, but the Arabs as well. It has many of the characteristics of communism: It is fanatic, it is ideological, it is religious, it claims, like communism, that the goal justifies the means—that you can kill, that you can bribe, that you can threaten. It has the same inclination to export their ideas; they have a finger in every pie. They are trying to introduce instability in Lebanon with Hizballah, in Somalia, in Sudan, in Egypt, in North Africa. They are quite rich, like the communist state, which is a rich state though the people are poor. The income of oil from Iran is 15 million dollars a year [as received], and they have an ambition to get a nuclear option. I think this is a menace to many of the Arab people.

We do not identify Islam with Khomeynism. We distinguish clearly, not only us but even King Husayn in his latest speech referred to it, and if I'm not wrong even King Fahd had a reference to this distinction. So we have a common problem, and Iran is financing largely the activities of Hamas.

Q: The 13 months of the negotiations did not bring anything to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

A: No. Let's distinguish between tactics and content. There was a great deal of progress in the negotiations, though the Palestinians occasionally, on many occasions, are putting on a dissatisfied appearance. But I'm afraid that this is part of their tactics in the negotiations. We have offered to the Palestinians what we call a 'mixed model'—namely, that the self-government authority is not just in reference to the authority of the government, but also in reference to the infrastructure, namely land and water. I think we have suggested more than a fair proposal. I have reason to believe that many of them thought that Israel was very advanced in her proposals.

Q: Are you talking about changing the sequence of Camp David? Are you talking of elections ahead of the autonomy agreement?

A: Yes, that was offered to the Palestinians. There is nothing in Camp David that says that the elections should take place after the full agreement. The elections can precede the full agreement.

Q: Your coalition partners in Meretz have asked the government to complement the deportations by opening a dialogue with the PLO. I understand what you said about the need for elections among the Palestinians, but what will you answer to Meretz about opening a dialogue that might have allowed you to ask the Palestinians what they would like you to do about Hamas?

A: If I was listening carefully to what Meretz has suggested, they expect also the PLO to change and not just to change the attitude toward the PLO. May I say that we have a delegation to negotiate with. It is not a situation that we do not have a partner. We do have, and the partner is fully recognized by everybody, including the PLO. So why all of a sudden invest all of our energies and ingenuity to change the negotiating team, instead of doing it by really trying to find a solution for the remaining problems.

Q: You had your delegations in Washington a few days ago when this whole crisis was developing in Israel. Why didn't you ask your delegations in Washington to speak to the Palestinians and ask them what they thought about this idea of deportation, and to speak with the Lebanese and ask them what they thought about the idea of receiving 400 deportees?

A: It would be a wonderful idea if the delegation in Washington will be charge of the Hamas. But to the best of my knowledge, the Hamas is trying to destroy the delegation, its purposes and the people they represent. So it was simply the wrong address to ask what to do.

Q: But you said before that you wanted to ask the Palestinians what they think should be done with their own people?

A: Provided they will give an answer that will stop violence. If the answer is: 'Let's talk and shoot'—it's not an answer. Then we shall continue to talk, but it is our duty to stop the shooting.

Q: The reports from Lebanon say that the deportees are now effectively blockaded. If the question of getting food and other needs arises and Israel is the only source for this, will the government agree to some kind of arrangement? And secondly, you talked at the outset about progress having been made with Syria and Jordan. I wonder if you could tell us any more about it?

A: On the first question, they are under Lebanese rule, and it is really for the Lebanese to decide to open or to close the ways needed to support the deportees. On your second question, actually we did agree with the Jordanians on an agenda. In my judgment, it was more than an

agenda. It was a blueprint for a possible peace. The Jordanians wanted some corrections or improvements. Then we tried to have a meeting of minds. I do believe we are not too far away from reaching an understanding. In addition to that, while having more or less an umbrella, formal or informal, we started some practical negotiations on issues of water, environment, economy, and other issues. Our feeling is that there is an atmosphere of business and goodwill. If the opportunity will come, I would say we have more of an agreement than of a disagreement with the Jordanians.

Q: You were out of the country when the vote was taken in the cabinet last week, although I presume you were consulted. Are you absolutely convinced that deporting these Hamas people was the only way, the actual best way to deal with the situation?

A: I was out of the country, I wasn't out of the government. I said already that I share full responsibility for the decision.

Q: Prime Minister Rabin said yesterday that he ordered the shooting of mortar shells to scare the Hamas, the deportees. If they choose to go back toward the security zone, will Israel use force to prevent them?

A: I think Israel would try to prevent them from doing so with the necessary carefulness not to have casualties among them.

Q: You started your remarks by saying that you were confident the peace process would continue. Could you tell us why you are so confident, given that the Palestinians themselves are saying that the process has been dealt a death blow by these deportations, and that they would not go to negotiate unless you adopted some very specific measures?

A: King Husayn said the negotiations should be continued. The Syrians said they will attend the negotiations. President Mubarak called upon the Palestinians to return to the negotiating table.

The Palestinians could clearly, surely, can adopt the Hamas position—and then what? It is not only that Israel thinks that her best alternative is peace. I believe the Palestinians, too, don't have a better alternative. But to accept the Hamas position, to become a camp of refusal, and again to miss a real opportunity to move ahead toward their own destiny? Sure, everybody can help himself. But does it make sense for the Palestinians to remain alone, outside the negotiations, and wait for what? Could the Palestinians seriously control the Hamas? Or if they cannot control the Hamas, should they agree that the Hamas will control them? It doesn't make any sense.

Q: I wasn't aware that King Husayn said he wanted to continue the talks.

A: He appeared on two television interviews in the United States, yesterday and the day before yesterday.

Q: Since you have this new military order, are you going to deport more Palestinians in the future?

A: Deportation is not our policy. Deportation is an exception to our policy. We wish we could have avoided this particular act. Deportation is a reaction, is a measure to stop a terrible danger. It is not a choice, and it is not a policy. I hope wholeheartedly that there will be no need to return again to this sort of a measure.

Q: Did I understand correctly you saying that these expulsion orders are actually between nine months and two years?

A: Yes.

Q: So deportees could come back in nine months?

A: Some of them, yes.

Q: Does each have a specific time?

A: Yes, each of them has a specific time, and each of them has an individual right—I repeat it—to appeal to a committee of appeals that has the full power to change the order of deportation. It is open to them.

Q: On the deportees' return in two years, if that's the outside. Is that conditional, or do they absolutely have the right to return?

A: Absolutely. It is limited to two years. It is not a permanent deportation.

Q: General Yatom said yesterday that it was conditional on their not engaging in terrorist activities.

A: That applies to everybody. Whoever will participate in terrorist activities will be arrested, automatically, no matter where he is.

Q: There was a Palestinian press conference with Faysal al- Husayni just a little while ago. He said that it would not be out of the question for the Palestinians to take up armed struggle since the peace talks are in such a static state. What would you answer to that?

A: I hope that Faysal al-Husayni will be convinced, like all of us, that the best for all parties, including the Palestinian party, and us, is to negotiate. There were five wars between us and the Arabs. The Arabs didn't win any war. We won all the wars, but we didn't win a solution. The only solution that was reached is in peace negotiations, not on the battlefield. It is in the negotiations between the Egyptians and ourselves. And I strongly recommend to Faysal al-Husayni to prefer reason and to look at history.

Palestinians Said To Approve Action

TA2612142192 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 24 Dec 92 p 2

[Report by Hemi Shalev]

[Text] Dozens of greetings have reached the prime minister's bureau in recent days from Palestinian elements in the territories that welcome the "iron fist" Israel has adopted toward the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the expulsion of 400 Hamas activists.

Sources in the prime minister's bureau yesterday refused to divulge the identity of these Palestinians, claiming that publicizing their names will pose a sure danger to their lives. Still, the sources said that reference is to appeals by what they defined as "a surprising number" of Palestinians in the territories, including personages known to the wide public, both in Israel and in the territories.

Minister Disclaims Responsibility

TA2412175492 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Construction and Housing Minister Binyamin Ben- Eli'ezer says that Israel does not have to help Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] members whom it expelled to Lebanon, and it will not allow them to return. Minister Ben-Eli'ezer told our correspondent Shmu'el Tal that the Hamas men do not lack aid from other sources. Israel, he said, had carefully chosen those who were to be deported.

[Begin recording] [Ben-Eli'ezer] The Israeli Government decided to remove the entire leading, physical, and economic infrastructure of Hamas from the level of cell leaders to the level of political leadership. Because of rapidly evolving processes in the Hamas-supporting public, we had to move them outside our country.

The moment they were outside Israel—and their removal had a double endorsement of the High Court of Justice—the affair was closed and sealed, as far as we are concerned. They are now on Lebanese soil, and they are the responsibility of the Lebanese Government alone.

These are people who promoted murder, who were after Jewish blood, who did everything to harm the peace process as severely as they could. I think the High Court of Justice ruling on this issue, which drew the attention of the international community as well as the deportees themselves, precluded the possibility of it becoming a perpetual item on the media's agenda. I think this entire bunch of people will disperse and settle throughout Lebanon and other Arab countries within a short time, and some of them have declared as much.

I think there is no problem with humanitarian aid. They are surrounded by south Lebanese villages, they are aided by the local government and army, and it is their duty to help them. [end recording]

The chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Knesset Member [MK] Ori Or, said that perhaps we should have started fighting Hamas four or five years ago. Hamas' objective had been misjudged. MK Or said, and now we have no choice but to fight it in every legal way at our disposal. [passage omitted]

First Deportee Appeal Submitted

TA2512074392 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by military correspondent Netan'el Semrik]

[Excerpt] A first appeal was submitted to the appeals committees set up by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. The appeal was submitted by 'Adli Ya'ish through an Israeli attorney. 'Adli Ya'ish, 40, is a Nabulus resident. He is a businessman and a mechanical engineer by profession. He was detained in the large wave of detentions effected by the Shin Bet and IDF about two weeks ago, and was later deported. His brother appealed to an Israeli attorney who filed an appeal over the last few days. According to Ya'ish's family, 'Adli did not belong to Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and should be returned to Israel.

The appeal will be heard by one of the appeals committees already set up by the IDF. The committee is headed by a judge from a military court in the territories. Other members of the committee include two side [tzad] judges and officers. The committees were appointed by the Matan Vilna'i, the commander of the Southern Command, and Dani Yatom, the commander of the Central Command. Hearing of the appeal will begin in the coming days.

The committee is authorized to uphold the temporary expulsion order, shorten its validity, or cancel it and return the deportee to the State of Israel. The appeals can be submitted up to two months after the deportation. Senior elements in the Military Advocate General's Office told us that the defense establishment is prepared to hear all appeals which may be submitted. These elements believe that the hearing of Ya'ish's appeal will last only a few days. [passage omitted]

Transfer of Aid Urged

TA2512063192 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by army affairs correspondent Karmela Menashe]

[Excerpts] It is the second week of the deportees in the encampment in Lebanon. Israel will apparently decide not to accept the request by the International Red Cross [IRC] to allow the transfer of food and medicines to the deportees through Israel, but this issue will be concluded between the prime minister and foreign minister today, and the IRC representatives will be informed of Israel's answer today.

Lebanon, too, refuses to allow the transfer of food and medicine through its territory. It is believed in Israel that the Lebanese stance stems from the desire to continue to use the deportees for anti-Israeli propaganda. [passage omitted]

Sources in Israel reiterate that the deportees are outside the security zone, in sovereign Lebanese territory and under Lebanese control. The decision as to whether to leave them in tents or to give them more comfortable conditions is in Lebanon's hands. The suggestion to transfer supplies from Lebanon to the encampment through the security zone is surprising, the sources say, emphasizing it is the Lebanese Government that should make the transfer of supplies possible. We received the IRC appeal, the sources say, adding: Lebanon allows media representatives to enter the encampment; it is then surprising why the media is allowed to reach the tents directly, while the IRC supplies should go through the security zone. As far as Israel is concerned, the deportees are in a Lebanese-controlled area, and Lebanon is responsible for them. The sources repeat that raising the problem of food shortage is for propaganda reasons, since the deportation affair is beginning to gain less headlines worldwide. SLA [South Lebanese Army] forces and IDF [Israel Defense Forces], including paratroopers and Giv'ati Brigade units, which reinforced the soldiers in the area continue to maintain high alert.

[Later, on Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el's 0505 GMT newsreel, Labor Tourism Minister 'Uzi Bar'am says: "From the human point of view, I do not see any justification for the resolve to oppose the transfer of supplies." Although they are on Lebanese territory, Bar'am "surely does not rule out the possibility of humanitarian aid."]

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 0600 GMT adds that "the Meretz faction demands that the government allow the transfer of IRC supplies. Faction head, Yosi Sarid, told our correspondent Hayim Hecht that this is a humanitarian move, and Israel will not shoulder any renewed responsibility for the deportees as a result."]

Cabinet Rejects IRC Aid Request

TA2512144092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1415 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by political correspondent Yaron Deqel outside the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv—live]

[Text] [Deqel] Here is 'Oded Ben-'Ami, the prime minister's media adviser, and he will read the text of the cabinet decision:

[Ben-'Ami] In its session on 25 December 1992, the government decided that since the encampment of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and Islamic Jihad deportees is situated in territory that is under the sovereignty, responsibility, and control of the Lebanese Government; and since it is very easy to dispatch a convoy with supplies directly to the encampment from Lebanon, the Israeli Government saw no reason to accede to the International Red Cross [IRC] request to send the convoy through the security zone.

[Deqel] That is the text of the decision. Thank you, 'Oded Ben-'Ami, the prime minister's media adviser.

Ministers Comment on Aid

TA2512154392 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1549 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by political correspondent Yaron Deqel outside the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv following the special cabinet session—live]

[Text] [Deqel] Good day. The cabinet today accepted the position of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin; thus, the International Red Cross [IRC] convoy will not be able to reach the deportees. Here is Foreign Minister Peres. We are live on the air, Mr. Foreign Minister....

[Peres, in English] I am not the spokesman for the government. The spokesman will read an announcement in a few moments.

[Deqel] Mr. Peres, do you have any comments for us? We are live on the air. You participated in today's decision, and perhaps you can explain it?

[Peres] There is a government spokesman, and he will issue an official announcement. There is no point in my snatching the words from his lips.

[Deqel] Could you explain your own position, Mr. Peres?

[Peres] There is no such thing as my personal position, there is only a government position.

[Deqel] Thank you, Mr. Foreign Minister. Shim'on Peres' position was not accepted. Here is Energy and Infrastructure Minister Ammon Rubinstein. Mr. Rubinstein, the cabinet made its decision despite your opposition.

[Rubinstein] That is true. However, there is always a majority and a minority in the cabinet, and the majority, albeit not a large one, was against us. I think this decision is wrong, but the cabinet reaches a decision by a majority.

[Deqel] How big was the majority here?

[Rubinstein] Eight ministers versus six, with two abstentions.

[Deqel] Did all the Meretz ministers vote against the prime minister's proposal?

[Rubinstein] Definitely, without any question.

[Unidentified correspondent] Why was this a wrong decision, Mr. Rubinstein?

[Rubinstein] Do I have to explain why? I consider this to be self-evident. I think that the question is not the intentions of the Lebanese Government, or what those bastards are doing there, but rather what is good for Israel. Right now, it is good for Israel to extend aid and assistance in order to help salvage our international standing and try to win back public opinion. I hope I am proved wrong and the cabinet's decision will not get us into a more difficult position.

[Deqel] Thank you, Minister Amnon Rubinstein. We would also like to hear the reaction of Finance Minister Avraham Shohat. Did you support the prime minister's decision?

[Shohat] I supported him all the way. I think that the proposal suggested by the Lebanese Government and the IRC was a political and not a humanitarian move. There is no reason in the world for the Lebanese not to allow IRC convoys through. They wanted to force us into a situation in which Israel would become responsible for the deportees. Therefore, I most strongly supported the prime minister's position, and I think that we were right not to have accepted the IRC demands.

[Deqel] Was there a sharp confrontation between the prime minister and the foreign minister during the cabinet session?

[Shohat] No, there was no sharp confrontation. They both expressed their opinions. I supported the prime minister's position, and the final vote was eight ministers in support, six against, with two ministers abstaining. Ultimately, I believe that the right decision was made.

[Deqel] Thank you, Minister Shohat. Tourism Minister 'Uzi Bar'am was opposed to the decision.

[Bar'am] Indeed, I was opposed to it. I supported the Foreign Minister's proposal. I still think that the cabinet took the wrong decision. It would not have weakened the effect of the deportations one bit had we decided to make a humanitarian gesture and accede to the IRC request. I really think the cabinet made a mistake.

[Deqel] Could you tell us who else besides you, the Meretz ministers, and the foreign minister, supported your position?

[Bar'am] Police Minister Shahal. The two abstaining ministers were Ora Namir and Hayim Ramon.

[Deqel] Thank you, Minister Bar'am. We now turn to Education Minister Shulamit Aloni, who is also the chairman of the Meretz faction. She supported Shim'on Peres' proposal. Mrs. Aloni, what effect do you think the cabinet decision will have?

[Aloni] Look, the cabinet's decision obligates all of us. I do not think it will complicate things that much because the UN envoy is arriving on 27 December, and I imagine that he will also consider the Lebanese Government's position and not just ours. It is true that the Lebanese Government is responsible for everything which takes place within its jurisdiction.

[Deqel] But the significance of today's cabinet decision will probably cast Israel in an unfavorable light. Was this taken into consideration?

[Aloni] Look, you know there were disagreements within the cabinet, and although I voted against it, I still think that the cabinet has enough arguments to explain its decision.

[Deqel] Thank you, Education Minister Shulamit Aloni. Let us hear the reaction of one more minister. Incidentally, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has still not left the cabinet session, and we are waiting for him to come out. Meanwhile, let us listen to Police and Communications Minister Moshe Shahal, who is just giving an interview to Israeli television.

[Shahal, picked up in progress]...supplies. I, within my function as acting justice minister, and in conjunction with the attorney general, proposed that letting supplies through would not have any effect on the finality of the deportations following the High Court of Justice's ruling on 22 December. The ruling stipulated that the deportees were situated in territory controlled by the Lebanese Government and therefore under its responsibility. Hence, the deportations were for all intents and purposes concluded from the moment the High Court of Justice made its decision. A one-time opening of a gate to let some food through would have no detrimental effect on the deportation proceedings as such. Of course, my opinion only received the support of a minority, and the cabinet's decision is known.

[Deqel] Minister Moshe Shahal, could there be another cabinet debate on Sunday after the UN envoy arrives?

[Shahal] Who can foresee the future? I do not think I can tell you what will happen on Sunday, that the position presented to the UN envoy will undoubtedly be identical to today's cabinet decision?

[Deqel] Was there a harsh confrontation between the prime minister and the foreign minister? After all, this is the first prominent and public disagreement between the two men since the government was established.

[Shahal] No, in my opinion there was no confrontation. This is a matter of an assessment of a situation and concrete attitudes toward a certain issue. It was more like a constructive argument.

[Deqel] Thank you, Minister Shahal. We are still waiting for Prime Minister Rabin to come out. Meanwhile, several other ministers have left the session. I suggest we wait and hear what Attorney General Yosef Harish has to say.

[Harish] Yes, what is the question?

[Deqel] Sir, did you offer legal support for the prime minister's position?

[Harish] I said that this was not a legal issue at all. We transferred them to territory which is under Lebanese sovereignty. The Lebanese Government is responsible for them, for their supplies, health, welfare, and everything else. The question is not a legal one. The issue is whether a situation has developed on the ground which gives rise to the question of whether we should make a humanitarian gesture, and the cabinet decided that practically speaking, this is not the case. Let us leave the legal questions to when they are needed. This has absolutely no bearing on the matter.

[Deqel] Thank you, Attorney General Harish. Here is Construction and Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer, live on IDF Radio.

[Ben-Eli'ezer] The cabinet decided on the deportations, and the deportations must be completed. For the last few days, the deportees have been on Lebanese territory, and we are convinced that any attempt to place the responsibility on us to transfer aid from the IRC through our territory constitutes a political maneuver and not a humanitarian act. The Lebanese Government must, can, and should permit any humanitarian aid—if it indeed wants them to get such aid—to be dispatched through its territory.

[Deqel] What are you worried about? What could transferring aid through the security zone lead to?

[Ben-Eli'ezer] Like I said, the government is fighting...[changes thought] The cabinet's decision on the deportations did not come against the background of humanitarian problems, but as part of its basic guidelines: on the one hand, its commitment to the peace process, and on the other hand its war against terror. This step came as part of the war against terrorism. The moment the deportees reached the other side, it is their responsibility.

[Deqel] Minister Ben-Eli'ezer, has there been any reaction or comment from the United States following the prime minister's decision?

[Ben-Eli'ezer] The decision was only reached a few minutes ago. I do not know of any U.S. reaction yet.

[Deqel] Thank you, Minister Ben-Eli'ezer.

Appeal Submitted on Aid Decision

TA2512174892 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1700 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] An appeal has been submitted to the High Court of Justice to issue an interim injunction on supplies to the deportees. Attorney 'Imad Dakkur has appealed to the High Court of Justice, on behalf of Knesset Member 'Abd-al-Wahab Darawshah, to issue an interim injunction ordering the Israeli Government to permit the International Red Cross convoy to pass through the security zone to deliver supplies to the deportees.

Our correspondent Mira Amsalem reports that the appeal stipulated that Israel bears the legal and moral responsibility to permit aid to be given to the deportees, because they are under a state of siege and there is a real danger to their lives.

UN Envoy Arrives

TA2712060892 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] UN special envoy James Jonah arrived in Israel this morning to discuss the expulsion of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] activists to Lebanon and related issues. Israel has made it clear it has no intention of complying with the UN resolution calling for the return of the expelled people. Jack Katzenell reports:

James Jonah from Sierra Leone is UN under secretary for political affairs. He will have talks today with Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres, and tomorrow he will be briefed by security officials on the events that led to the expulsion of the 415 Hamas activists. Jonah will also meet Faysal al-Husayni and perhaps other Palestinian leaders, and he is expected to visit the expelled Hamas people in south Lebanon. But, Israeli sources say, he will not drive to the Hamas camp from Israel. He will have to come from the north, from Beirut.

An official in Jerusalem said last night that Jonah's visit is a goodwill mission. That was how UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali defined it when he spoke on the telephone to Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres. The Israeli official stressed that Jonah will not just be discussing the expulsion, that his mandate is much wider and he will be investigating the background to the Israeli Government's decision. As a matter of course, Jonah will urge Israel to comply with the Security Council's demand for the repatriation of the Hamas activists. But, he will be met with a polite but firm refusal. James Jonah is scheduled to leave Israel on Tuesday morning.

Peres on Meeting With UN Envoy

TA2712145092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1330 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres met with UN special envoy James Jonah earlier today. Our political correspondent Natan Gutman heard Peres at the end of the meeting.

[Begin Peres recording] I told Mr. Jonah that in my opinion the UN resolution was one-sided in the sense that it did not take into consideration the reasons behind the deportation of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] activists. The murders they committed were not mentioned. One must bear in mind that Hamas sought to murder not only the peace process but also to kill anyone who supported it, whether they be Jew or Arab.

At the same time, we want to cooperate with the United Nations. The United Nations is not a hostile but rather a friendly organization. When he asked for my opinion as to the best way to resolve the situation, I told him that I thought that the best thing would be for the deportees to submit their appeals to the committees that will be appointed very soon. [end recording]

Rabin Meets UN Envoy

TA2712171092 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1602 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Statement by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem following meeting with UN envoy James Jonah—live]

[Text] The UN secretary general's special envoy has arrived in Israel. During our meeting, I first of all clarified the cabinet's decision on the temporary removal of 415 leaders, organizers, and inciters from the fanatical and terroristic Islamic groups in Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip—Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the Islamic Jihad. I made it clear that Israel was determined to fight against terrorism, especially against the murderous terrorism perpetrated by these radical Islamic organizations whose aim is to murder Israelis, mainly Jews—but also Palestinians in the territories—and above all to kill the chance for continued peace negotiations. Any government in Israel that would fail to wage a ruthless war against terrorism, especially against this kind of terrorism which aims to kill the peace negotiations, would be unable to move toward peace or guarantee the continuation of the negotiations.

As for the second question: The condition of the 415 activists from the radical Islamic organizations, who are now in Lebanese territory and under the control of the Lebanese Government; well, this ostensibly humanitarian problem exists solely because the Lebanese Army has practically placed them under siege, and is preventing International Red Cross [IRC] and UNRWA [UN Relief and Works Agency] food convoys from reaching them. On Friday [25 December] an UNRWA convoy full of provisions was stopped approximately 1.5 km from the camp where the 415 men are located, and the Lebanese Army prevented it from entering. Moreover, eight or nine sick and wounded people were hospitalized in Rashayyah, and against the doctors' wishes, they went and took them out of hospital and brought them back to their camp. Therefore, responsibility for this blockade against them, in Lebanon, in an area under the control of the Lebanese Government and Army, which is designed to leave them without food or the possibility....[changes thought] No one asked them whether they wanted to leave for another country, perhaps in Europe or to another Arab state. This is also denied them. Therefore, responsibility for the condition of these 415 men rests with the Lebanese Government. We will do everything to continue our war against terrorism while promoting the peace negotiations. I will seek to establish contact with the Palestinian delegation, and I will propose that it hold a meeting with me regarding the continuation of the negotiations, and if their reply is affirmative I will gladly meet with them. I have made such attempts in the past. However, they have not so far accepted my invitation.

Some Deportees Expelled by Mistake

TA2712110792 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Dec 92 p A1

[Text] The defense establishment several weeks ago, even prior to the abduction and murder of Staff Sergeant Major Nisim Toledano, held deliberations on the possibility of releasing Shaykh Ahmad Yasin from jail. The meeting, conducted by Brigadier General Me'ir Dagan, the chief of staff's adviser on intifadah affairs, considered the possibility of freeing the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] leader for health reasons.

Several of the participants recommended freeing Yasin owing to his shaky health. Yasin is serving a life term in Kefar Yona prison for setting up the Hamas movement and for his responsibility for sending the gang that murdered soldiers Avi Sasportas and Ilan Sa'adan three years ago.

[Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew on 27 December in a page 2 report, adds: "Following a series of deliberations in the defense establishment, it was decided at this stage to put off a decision on releasing Shaykh Yasin. According to senior military sources 'the abduction and murder of border policeman Nisim Toledano will defer any further discussion of the issue.'"]

Six of the 415 Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists deported to Lebanon were expelled by mistake, it has transpired from a final summation of the debriefings carried out by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] on the deportation process. A senior source in the Civil Administration said that there was no need to deport the six and that it was due to a technical fault.

The same sources said that on 15 December when the deportations were decided on, the IDF was ordered to gather the potential deportees within hours. He said that there were several mistakes in the list of names transmitted to the IDF, so several inhabitants of the Gaza Strip with similar family names were deported mistakenly.

He said that the six mistakenly expelled were also Hamas activists detained in the latest wave of detentions after the Toledano murder. He said that the six can appeal the decision, and there is no doubt that their request to return to their homes in the strip will be considered.

Another IDF source confirmed yesterday that several of the deportees were expelled by mistake. "It was not a foul-up because the IDF operated under great pressure of time. Owing to the haste with which the deportations were undertaken mistakes were made," he said.

The IDF believes that if all the deportees appeal to the military appeals committees, at least 10 percent will be returned home.

Contacting Deportees Prohibited

TA2712135092 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said that he would not authorize any Israeli citizen to establish any contact with the deportees. He was speaking to three Israeli Arab local council heads participating in the demonstration against the deportations held today opposite the Prime Minister's Office. Mr. Rabin left the cabinet session and received the three council heads for a brief meeting. This afternoon, Mr. Rabin will meet with UN special envoy James Jonah.

Shiite Leader Offers To Mediate

TA2712184492 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1830 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] A Shiite leader residing in Europe, Ayatollah (Mahdi Ruhani), today sent a wire to Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin offering to come to Jerusalem to discuss a humanitarian arrangement for the problem of the 415 deported Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] deportees in Lebanon.

Baraq 'Teflon Chief of Staff'

TA2712142892 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Dec 92 p B1

[Commentary by Gid'on Levi: "The Teflon Chief of Staff"]

[Text] Only good fellows participated in the deportations: Yitzhaq Rabin, for whom Israel waited for so long, the peace-loving Labor ministers, and the Meretz human rights advocates. Most of them are now feeling the heat of criticism. Only one good man has remained untouched this time as well. He initiated the original idea (even if a hidden voice took the trouble at the weekend to report that Rabin himself made the decision), and also implemented it, but his uniform once again serves him as fireproof shield. His name is Ehud Baraq, the most promising chief of staff Israel has had since Moshe Dayan.

Everybody was thrilled when he was appointed to the job. Hawks and doves, security freaks and Arabists were convinced that following several relative failures, now we have a chief of staff who not only is an Israeli hero, but also has a brilliant political mind. He is not extremist Refa'el Eytan, dowdy Moshe Levi, nor the softy Dan Shomron, but a brilliant intellectual who has a decoration for bravery pinned to his chest. A new analytical mind was born.

Even prior to his appointment, HADASHOT hailed him as the future leader of Israel, competing with a no less promising figure, Binyamin Netanyahu. Labor's old timers took refuge in the thought that one day Baraq would be their leader. They always wanted somebody like him—so security and politically conscious, just like Yitzhaq Rabin. Both fulfill all of our secret dreams—to eat the cake and have it, to hit at the Arabs and have a moderate political world outlook. But like Yitzhaq Rabin, the ideas broached by Baraq's brilliant mind are shown to be frequently distorted. That is perhaps why the two suit each other so well.

He has been in the job less than two years and his image has still not been cracked. Like previous charismatic leaders, Dayan and Rabin, everyone forgives him.

Nobody can match Baraq as an impressive conversationalist. His eloquence and wide knowledge served as cover ups for the accidents and foul ups. His explanations about bad luck saved him from most of his failures; each of his predecessors would have paid a heavy public price for them. And now come the deportations.

Baraq is a veteran supporter of the deportation policy. When he was head of the Central Command he insisted on deporting Akram Haniyah, a writer and journalist, because of political and not military activities. For years, he has also been trying to sell to the governments of Israel the idea of mass "removals." A minister in the former Shamir government explained last week how it was put off time and again. Early in the year, long before the latest wave of murders, Baraq suggested to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee deporting no less than 1,200 instigators for 18 months. Baraq tried to convince the committee members that removals, contrary to ordinary deportations, will be accepted in the world. Eyebrows were raised, and the correspondents referred to shock and anger in the conference room. Baraq withdrew and said that it was merely "food for thought."

There is nobody like Baraq for having the ability to talk about democratic systems while imposing censorship to a level Refa'el Eytan would not have dreamed about. Censorship on the deportations were due to operational needs, he explained, at a time when the entire country knew about the buses, and understood that the media blackout was aimed only at preventing a superfluous appeal against the deportations to the High Court of Justice.

His eloquence also helped him in the High Court appeal. "Baraq has once again convinced the High Court," a huge headline screamed last week. Perhaps that is why he was always seen smiling as he left the court building. He managed, for instance, to sell the High Court the claim that "returning the deportees would create additional grave damage"—a central claim in his argument. He explained to the justices that detentions are ineffective at the same time as thousands of Palestinians are detained without trial. It now appears that not only is there no justice in the detentions, but they are also ineffective.

On television he spoke about "refining" the orders on the opening of fire on the day six Palestinians were killed, more than on any other day during the intifadah. Two days later, two brother were killed and 50 were wounded. There has been no other chief of staff to use such sweet talk while discussing something so fatal. In actual fact, he is responsible for last week's new pinnacles in trigger happiness.

As the days pass, the deportations are shown to be more and more a fiasco, also from the practical sense. The 415 deportees are shown everywhere, with some justice, as the current Les Miserables of the world. Israel's true friends are left openmouthed with shock, the political process is stuck, the territories are up in flames, to a level unknown since the intifadah started, and Baraq continues to be convinced about the effectiveness of the deportations, while Nisim Toledano's murderers are running around free. Baraq's Army has succeeded in

deporting 415, but has failed, in the meantime, to bring two or three murderers to justice.

The lamentable deportations and the price paid will be taken out on the mixed up Meretz ministers more than anybody else, and not those who brought it on us, while Ehud Barraq will continue to be the great white hope, the person who brought charisma back to Israel.

No-Confidence Motions Threatened Over Deportees

TA2612185992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 1800 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Premier Rabin will meet tomorrow with the Arab Knesset members [MK's] of the HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality] communists and the Arab Democratic Party of 'Abd-al-Wahab Darawshah. A Qol Yisra'el reporter says they will tell Rabin that if he does not act promptly to provide food, equipment, and medicine for the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] deportees, they will proceed at once to table motions of no-confidence in the government.

Until now, the two parties have given the Rabin government support outside the coalition. The MK's also want to know if there has been any change in the standing orders to soldiers on opening fire in the territories. The two other Arab MK's: Nawaf Mustiha of Labor, and Walid Sadiq of Meretz, have been invited to the meeting.

Labor Sends 'Clear Signal' to U.S. on PLO Talks

TA2612140592 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The fact that 30 out of 44 Labor Knesset members [MK's] support negotiating with the PLO has aroused criticism in the Likud and Tzomet. Likud MK Yehoshu'a Matza said that these findings constitute a clear signal to the U.S. Administration to regard the PLO as a legitimate interlocutor.

Tzomet MK Moshe Peled said that Yitzhaq Rabin again could not hide the fact that he is the captive of his fellow faction members who hold the same opinions as Meretz.

Labor MK Ya'el Dayan demanded that the faction debate on whether or not to hold direct talks with the PLO next week. MK Dayan told our correspondent Hayim Hecht that she insisted that the vote be by secret ballot, so that faction members would not be influenced by the prime minister's position, which is opposed to holding direct talks with the PLO. [passage omitted]

Settlers' Claims on Accord With Syria Denied

TA2612134792 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Sources at the prime minister's bureau have denied claims made by the leaders of the Golan Heights settlement council that Israel is about to sign an interim accord with Syria, as a first step toward peace. The two council officials, Eli Malka and Sami Bar-Lev, told our correspondent Yo'av Aviv that over the past few weeks a senior Israeli Army officer, now in the reserves, and a retired foreign ministry official have met with a Syrian team, mainly in Europe.

Malka and Bar-Lev asserted that as part of the interim accord, Israel would withdraw from territories in the northern part of the Golan Heights.

The prime minister's media adviser denied these claims.

American Boy Hurt in East Jerusalem Stoning

TA2512183092 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 1800 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] In Qabatiyah near Jenin, a 22-year-old Palestinian was shot to death today. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] spokesman said the initial investigation shows that the man was shot at close range by a gunman who fled. The security forces have launched an investigation.

In Wadi al-Jawz in East Jerusalem this afternoon, a bus carrying American tourists was pelted with stones. A nine-year-old boy on the bus suffered a minor head injury. In the Christian Quarter of the Old City, the guard post outside a municipal department was set alight, and a car was also torched at the site. The police are investigating.

Gaza Youth Killed, 18 Injured in Disturbances

TA2612151992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Muhammad 'Ali Za'tar, a 15-year-old youth from al-Shati' refugee camp was killed this afternoon in the center of Gaza city. Local residents reported that the youth had thrown stones at an IDF [Israel Defense Forces] patrol from the roof of the Swedish clinic on al-Nasir street. The soldiers shot and critically injured him. He later died of his wounds in the hospital.

Our correspondent Moti Amir adds that the Jabaliyah refugee camp and Gaza city's Falastin Square are under curfew today. Residents said that 18 locals were injured by army gunfire in riots that took place yesterday afternoon in Gaza's al-Shuja'iyah neighborhood. Four of the injured were taken to the hospital.

Officials' Statements on Deportation Policy

Al-Hirawi Cited on Stand

NC2512145892 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1400 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] After attending a Christmas mass in Bkirki, President Ilyas al-Hirawi said: We need to restore confidence during these circumstances, because dependence on others will lead us nowhere.

He urged those able to do so to contribute to the displaced people's fund so they can rebuild their homes.

He emphasized: We still are suffering from the afflictions of the war and the spread of narcotics, in addition to what we suffer from the public administrations as we stand on the threshold of lifting the immunity [on government employees]. We all know that construction requires a great deal of effort.

He added: This is the first time the government has taken a stand on the deportees, and we adopted this stand in order not to lose Lebanon. Lebanon will not rest before the south is liberated, and we hope that the United Nations will implement its resolutions.

President on Need To Close Doors

NC2612105792 Shanayh Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 1000 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Speech by President Ilyas al-Hirawi at the Greek Armenian Patriarchate in Beirut on 26 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Your Beatitude: You said the Armenians were persecuted, found a haven of freedom in Lebanon, and therefore came to it. You helped the Lebanese people culturally and religiously. It is not beyond Lebanon's capacity to be the homeland of freedom for every persecuted person.

When we look at the present situation we find that we opened our doors to everyone who was persecuted on his land, but because opening doors has become a danger to the Lebanese entity and people, your government and your president have decided to close the doors so that each party will shoulder its responsibility. Some people may say that there are humanitarian issues in the case of those Israel has forcibly evacuated from their lands to a country that does not want them to be sent to it. They were forced to evacuate their lands in the past and we shouldered the responsibility. We almost lost our identity for their sake, but Lebanon cannot bear this anymore. In this case, the Lebanese state, government, and people are united. I believe that your beatitude shares our opinion that the time has come to close these doors. [applause]

We move from one bitter thing to another, from one act of aggression to another. Can all the Lebanese people possibly agree to let the south stay lost and be shaken by Israeli aggression whenever we activate the cause of peace? Is it possible for there to be a sick organ in the Lebanese body that will not affect the other organs? Hence, we all must rally together to restore peace to Lebanon. We are advocates of peace. We did not declare war against anyone in the past and we will never be willing to do so, but if the need arises to defend this homeland, we will all defend it with our strength and blood. Faith is stronger than weapons. [applause] [passage omitted]

Position 'Will Not Change'

NC2512175692 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri today emphasized that the Lebanese Government will not change its position following Israel's refusal to allow provisions to be supplied to the Palestinian deportees.

Answering a question by an AFP correspondent, al-Hariri said: Lebanon's position—which since last Monday has been to refuse to allow the passage of relief aid to the deportees via territory under the control of Lebanese authorities—will not change. The fate of the 415 Palestinians whom Israel deported to south Lebanon one week ago is Israel's responsibility. It certainly is not ours.

Commenting on the deteriorating living conditions of the deportees, who yesterday used up the last of the fresh water supply provided last week by the International Committee of the Red Cross, al-Hariri replied: Ask Rabin. Do not ask me.

Al-Hariri Urges U.S. Intervention

NC2612184392 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri today appealed to the United States to intervene in the deportees issue and urge Israel to take back the deportees and back down from its decision to prevent the arrival of humanitarian aid across the Israeli-controlled lines.

In a Christmas message he sent to U.S. President George Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton, al-Hariri noted that the plight of the deportees clearly indicates Israel's violation of the Geneva Convention and its continued refusal to implement Resolution 425.

He hoped the United States would be motivated by the spirit of Christmas to end the deportees' torment.

Al-Hariri today received a phone call from the PLO office director in Beirut, Shafiq al-Hut, during which they reviewed the deportees situation.

U.S., UN Action Urged

NC2712200292 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Information Minister Michel Samahah has commented on the Palestinian deportees issue. He said: As we stand between two festive occasions, we ought to pause at

the issue of the newly displaced people who were evicted from an occupied Palestinian land to an occupied Lebanese land. Thus, Israel will have crucified Christ twice on his birth anniversary by continuing to (?oppress) the Palestinian people through the deportation.

As for the Lebanese Government's decision refusing to take in the deportees, Minister Samahah said it has nothing to do with humanitarianism and can not be looked at from a humanitarian viewpoint. This decision, he added, aims to prevent two aggressions, aggression against the Palestinians on their land, and aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty.

Samahah appealed to the United Nations and the United States to expedite work to halt these Israeli aggressions. He said an end to the deportees issue will come through a Security Council resolution and contributions to repatriating them to their country.

Minister of State for Transport 'Umar Misqawi said the deportation decision was made because the frustrated Arab team had no means to stop this act. He noted that the response should come through a coordinated unified stand on this and other issues, such as resistance and facing up to the challenges. He added that settlement [of the Palestinians] must not be accepted and that the Zionist will must not be bowed to, noting that all resources should be rallied to confront the daily recurring dangers.

He expected the government to apply as much pressure as possible on the United States to pressure Israel into taking back the deportees.

Deportees' Spokesman Threatens 'Pressuring Moves'

NC2512084192 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] There has been no change in the situation of the Palestinian deportees. Stranded for the eighth day running out in the open and subjected to cold weather and heavy rain, two of them, Muhammad al-Hasanat and Muhammad al-Rifa'i, were admitted to Zahlah Hospital because of their deteriorating health. This brought to four the number of deportees currently in the hospital, two of them were wounded by fire from the occupation forces two days ago.

Yesterday, the Zionist occupation forces fired scores of illumination flares over the no-man's-land between the Zummarayya crossing point and the Lebanese Army roadblock in Marj al-Zuhur and directed machine-gun fire at the hills close to the deportees' tents.

Meanwhile, Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Rantisi, spokesman for the deportees, said: We will stun the world with pressuring moves [khutuwat daghitah] that we hope will end our ordeal. He disclosed that the health of the deportees is deteriorating quickly, particularly since they ran out of drinking water. [passage indistinct] Al-Rantisi added: Conditions are very bad, particularly as we cannot find a single drop of water. The food has run out and only a little food remains. [sentence as heard] We have no bread and medical supplies are running out.

Due to the lack of food, the deportees went on a one-day fast yesterday to reduce their food intake.

Deportees React to Cairo Talks

NC2512141792 Shanayh Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 1230 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] To conserve dwindling food supplies, the Palestinian deportees in al-Quds [Jerusalem] Camp continued fasting for the second day running today. On the occasion of glorious Christmas, they addressed a congratulatory message to Christians, urging them to cooperate with the deportees in the name of Bethlehem's martyrs. The message says Christians in Palestine are suffering from the occupation, and the cradle of Christ is appealing to Christian conscience to remove the injustice done to Palestinians. The deportees called on U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton to visit al-Quds camp to see with his own eyes the extent of their suffering. They urged him to work to implement Resolution 799, which provides for their return to Palestine.

Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Rantisi, who is in charge of media affairs in the deportees camp, commented on the resolutions of the foreign ministers of the cordon states. He said they did not turn out as the deportees hoped they would. He added: We hoped that the ministers would announce withdrawal from the negotiations for several reasons, including the following:

1. The intention of the Israeli Government has now become obvious, namely, to displace the Palestinian people.

2. Israel has not yet implemented Security Council Resolution 799, which indicates that it is evading all international resolutions.

3. Discontinuing the negotiations may exert pressure on Rabin's government.

Explaining the conditions of the deportees overnight, al-Rantisi said: Snow fell and we were unable to use the heaters because we had no kerosene. We ran out of water at the same time doctors warned against drinking water without boiling it.

A United Nations Relief and Works Agency official said the conditions in the deportees' camp are very difficult as water, fuel, food, and medicine are lacking. He said contaminated water is making many people sick, adding, however, that despite the difficulties and suffering, the morale of the strugglers is still high because they believe in right.

UN Envoy Asked To Visit Camp

NC2712195592 Paris AFP in English 1715 GMT 27 Dec 92

[By Tahir Abu Hamdan—passages with parentheses are AFP-provided editor's notes]

[Excerpt] Marj al-Zuhur, Lebanon, Dec 27 (AFP)—Lebanese villagers are sending supplies on mules to more than 400 cold and sick Palestinian deportees, despite Israeli and Lebanese bans on such aid, residents in south Lebanon said Sunday.

They told AFP that Druze and Shiite villagers began Friday transporting limited quantities of humanitarian aid by mule, notably meat, fresh vegetables, bread and tomato paste, as well as kerosene and butane for gas heaters and stoves.

Deportee spokesman 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Rantisi meanwhile called on special United Nations envoy James Jonah to come to the no-man's land camp where the 415 expelled Palestinians have been holding out for 10 days under harsh wintry conditions.

"I can assure you that the situation you'll see on the ground will be more convincing than all our statements," he said addressing Jonah, the special envoy of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, who held talks with Israeli officials in Jerusalem.

(In Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said the deportees were the responsibility of the Lebanese Government.)

"You will realize our suffering and we hope this will prompt you to urge the Security Council to adopt a new decision involving sanctions against Israel, which does not respect UN resolutions or the Geneva Convention," said al-Rantisi, a doctor, who is a member of the radical Islamic Resistance Movement [or] Hamas.

Lebanese mule drivers, shepherds and peasants helping the Palestinians are from villages near the seven-kilometer (4.3 miles) stretch between Marj al-Zuhur, controlled by the Lebanese Army, and Zummarayya, on the edge of Israel's security zone of south Lebanon, where the pro-Iranian Shiite Hizbullah militia and backers of Druze leader Walid Jumblati are positioned.

Since their December 17 exile, the deportees have received supplies from the International Committee of the Red Cross, Lebanese Druze residents in the region as well as aid from Muslim organizations and figures.

(A Shiite Muslim leader in Europe, Ayatollah Mahdi Rahani [name as received], said he had proposed going to Jerusalem if his trip would end the ordeal for the deportees.

(In a telegram to Rabin, a copy of which was made available to AFP, Rahani said he was prompted by humanitarian feelings.)

The Lebanese Government has since December 20 barred passage of supplies to the deportees, insisting they were Israel's responsibility. Israel has steadfastly refused to let the aid transit through its borders.

The expelled Palestinians fought off deepening snow and bitter cold on Sunday, with no prospects of proper medical care for two who are seriously ill.

Amjad Zamil 28, and Zuhayr Libbadi, 32, were in "very serious" conditions, deportee 'Abd al-Mun'im Labd, a doctor, said Saturday. "If they are not hospitalized in 48 hours, their lives will be in danger."

In a makeshift clinic, 30-year-old nurse Fawzi Barhum said he had Sunday morning treated 23 deportees suffering from dysentery, vomiting and chest problems.

The camp's supply officer, Husayn Abu Kuwayk, said food supplies had been steadily dwindling. [passage omitted]

Al-Hariri, al-Asad Discuss Deportees, Security

NC2712205192 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 2000 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri today telephoned Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and discussed with him current regional and international developments, particularly the Arab-Israeli talks and the results of the latest round in the U.S. capital.

Al-Hariri and al-Asad also discussed the Palestinian deportees issue and the firm stands taken by the Lebanese Government in this regard, especially its refusal to allow the deportees to enter Lebanese areas where the legitimate security forces are deployed and to prevent any contact with them originating from Lebanese territory.

Al-Hariri thanked al-Asad for the support the Syrian forces operating in Lebanon provided the Lebanese security forces—whether the Army or internal security forces—during the security operations the Lebanese forces carried out yesterday in a number of areas of al-Biqa', al-Shamal [the north], and al-Jabal. During these operations the Lebanese forces arrested a number of fugitives wanted for murder, forgery, drug-smuggling, and auto theft. Al-Hariri praised the effective current and any future Syrian support for every Lebanese security forces operation.

Army Plans To Implement New 'Security Plan'

NC2412192592 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Defense Minister Mahmun Dallul has stressed that the implementation of a new security plan will begin in the next few days. The plan, he said, includes army deployment in Beirut's southern suburb. After meeting Chamber of Deputies Speaker Nabih Barri, Dallul said that there is total and comprehensive responsiveness from all parties. Minister Dallul said:

[Begin recording] [Dallul] We visited his excellency the speaker to brief him on certain important aspects related to a security plan to consolidate the security situation and remove the setbacks that recently marred it. It is only natural that we will have a new plan that will be implemented in the next few days, including the army deployment in the southern suburb. We discussed this issue and we were in full agreement regarding views, methods, and action. God willing, our action will serve the citizen, his security and property, and the homeland.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Minister, what are the dimensions of this security plan?

[Dallul] The plan will go as far as the situation requires. We cannot disclose the details now. The plan is aimed at consolidating the security situation. We intend to improve a certain security situation.

[Correspondent] Is the plan confined to the southern suburb, or will it involve other areas?

[Dallul] The plan will involve other areas. The southern suburb is only one aspect of this plan.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, will the plan involve collecting arms?

[Dallul] No. But the Army will prevent people from roaming streets with unlicensed arms. Wherever the Army is deployed, no one will be allowed to carry arms illegally. This is natural, otherwise the army deployment would be imaginary and ineffective, which is not acceptable. There are precedents. Wherever the Army deploys, there can be no illegal or unlicensed arms.

[Correspondent] In light of your contacts, is there responsiveness from all parties?

[Dallul] The responsiveness is total and comprehensive and all parties expressed support for the plan.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, is there a plan for army deployment in other areas?

[Dallul] We have other plans, but we are working gradually. We worked enough today, and I think that what I said is enough for the time being. God willing, all will be well and we are all working to serve the interests of the people and of Lebanon and security so that we can devote our efforts to addressing very important issues relating to the enemy and his plans against Lebanon's peace, security, and national accord. [end recording]

Dallul Discusses Army Deployment

NC2512075992 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Defense Minister Muhsin Dallul met Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah yesterday in the latter's home in Harat Hurayk [in Beirut's southern suburb]. Dallul also went to the headquarters of Hizballah's General Secretariat, where he held a meeting with Hizballah Secretary General His Eminence Hasan Nasrallah, Deputy Amin al-Sayyid, and 'Ammar al-Musawi, deputy chairman of Hizballah's Political Bureau.

The meetings involved a discussion of the current political and security situation, the needs of the southern suburb, and the issue of Palestinian deportees. Minister Dallul brought up the issue of a security plan for the southern suburb and said that it will be discussed with the relevant officials at the appropriate time.

It is expected that the security plan will be implemented in the southern suburb next week. The cabinet is due to meet and approve a timetable for the plan's implementation on 28 December.

Dallul discussed the plan with Chamber of Deputies Speaker Nabih Burri and other officials. In the next two days, Beirut and Damascus are expected to hold consultations to ensure the success of Army deployment in the suburb.

Army To Deploy 'at Dawn Tomorrow'

NC2812080192 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 0530 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] According to knowledgeable sources, the Army deployment plan in the southern suburb will be executed at dawn tomorrow. The plan will include southern suburb quarters, al-Hadath, al-Shuwayfat, Kafr Shima, Khaldah, al-Awza'i, and the airport road.

The sources added that two infantry brigades will deploy in al-Hazimiyah and B'abda. Storming operations will be effected in various areas of deployment. The sources stressed the importance of the operation executed on 26 December. They said that other operations will be executed to strike at outlaws wherever they may be.

The same sources said that there is a decision to consolidate security in all areas.

Army Prevents Entry of 4 Sick Deportees

NC2512171192 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] It has been learned that the Lebanese Army prevented four sick deportees from entering liberated Lebanese territory this afternoon. The four are Khalil Abu-Layla, 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan Dukhkhan, Hasan Sham'ah, and Muhammad Talib Salih. The Army sent two Red Cross vehicles to return eight sick deportees from a hospital in Dahr al-Ahmar to the deportees' camp.

Forces P[illegible]o Leave Hospital

NC2512181292 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] The Lebanese authorities have kept up their pressure regarding the issue of the Palestinian deportees.

The director of Dahr al-Ahmar Hospital near Rashayya told AFP that a Lebanese Army officer, escorted by four soldiers, forced three wounded and five sick deportees to return to their makeshift camp this afternoon. The hospital director explained that he protested the removal of the deportees from the hospital, especially that of the three wounded deportees, whose condition was unstable and who needed further treatment.

PLO Praises Government's Position on Deportees

NC2612184992 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Zayd Wahbah, representative of the PLO chairman in Beirut, praised the Lebanese Government's decision to keep the Palestinian deportees outside the area under its control.

He told REUTER: We greatly appreciate the Lebanese Government's decision not to receive the deportees and to prevent any contacts with them. Keeping the deportees where they are, he said, is an act of political pressure that must be maintained by all means. Wahbah added: If the Israeli scheme succeeds and the Israelis manage to set up camps modeled after the Nazi ones, then Israel will expel more Palestinians. The deportation began with hundreds of Palestinians, and it may end with tens of thousands, he said.

Buwayz Returns From Ministers Meeting in Cairo

NC2412205192 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 2000 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz returned to Beirut aboard a private plane at 2030 today after participating in the cordon states foreign ministers meeting in Cairo. He was met at the airport by Egyptian Ambassador Abu-Zayd 'Umar and Lebanese Foreign Ministry officials.

Shammas Returns, Criticizes Deportations

NC2212210192 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 2015 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Ambassador Suhayl Shammas, head of the Lebanese delegation to the peace talks, returned to Beirut this afternoon.

He said that the Israeli decision on the Palestinians' deportation overshadowed the negotiations in a very negative way. He added that Israel's behavior at this time is marked by a serious shift and escalation that is having profound, negative repercussions on the peace process and is jeopardizing it.

Shammas said Israel has violated international charters and laws, especially the fourth Geneva convention.

Iran

Rafsanjani Delivers Sermons at Friday Prayers

LD2512134292 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] This week's Tehran Friday prayers were led by Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president. Tehran's Friday imam first delivered the first sermon of the prayers which was devoted to social justice and government and the explanation of the characteristics of the just ruler. He then devoted his second sermon to current world affairs.

The president congratulated the anniversary birthday of His Holiness Imam Muhammad Baqir, peace be upon him, and also the birth of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. He then elaborated on the sensitive issues in the world of Islam both in the West and the East. He condemned the recent stance adopted by the Arab rulers of the Persian Gulf against Iran in view of the sensitive situation in the Muslim world. He said that action was improper and in line with the aims of arrogance.

The Tehran Friday prayer leader said: At a time when the world is witnessing various kinds of crimes being committed against Muslims in various regions and particularly in Palestine and the homelessness of hundreds of unprotected Muslims have prepared the grounds to expose the sinister goals of the Zionist regime, the Arab rulers of the region, to serve their masters, have decided to raise an issue to overshadow all important events in the world of Islam and to divert opinions—exactly what Israel wants.

The president referred to the reconciliation talks between the Zionist regime and the Arab governments and said:

[Begin Rafsanjani recording] The Israelis are after something else at the negotiating table. They only want to break Muslim greatness, sow discord in the Muslim lines of resistance, and drag those that have not thus far engaged in negotiations to the negotiating table. They want to show the weakness of the Muslims and sow discord in their ranks to advance their expansionist aims. If anyone dreams that this is not the case, if they think Israel will stop its expansionist aims, they are wrong—this is what we say.

Recent events prove us right. You can see now that the United Nations says they [Palestinian deportees] must return; big powers are saying that they must return—well on the face of it they are saying they must return. The Arabs have issued statements saying they must return and Israel sits there all alone saying: No they must not return. What a cheek! It has stood up against all the world.

Of course, this is shame for the Arabs who have approved of negotiations. Perhaps, to reduce their embarrassment they have thought of creating a big problem to divert the world's attention. It is obvious that if some problem occurs in the Persian Gulf, the center which provides fuel, heating, and energy to the world, then all media and news centers will focus on this point. Eyes will divert from everything else and will turn in this direction. One should cross a bloodbath [darya-ye khun] to reach those islands. [end recording]

The Friday imam of Tehran stressed the fact that our aim is not the creation of a climate of insecurity in the region, and he warned the Arab rulers of the region against the evil path laid out by arrogance. He further underlined continuing the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation in solving the problems of the Islamic world.

Also in the second sermon of the Friday prayers, the president spoke of the Literacy Campaign Week and pointed out the good growth in the literacy rate of the country. Welcoming this, he called on the people to continue on this path considering the amount that the state has allocated towards this field. He stressed the participation of the youth and all those under 35 years of age in the literacy classes.

Warns Arabs on Gulf Islands

LD2512153292 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1203 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Second Friday sermon by President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani at Tehran University on 25 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

An important political and sociological issue of the week is the situation in the Muslim world and the improper action of our neighboring governments in the Persian Gulf. It was a very unexpected action. Of course, they had already said such things through their ministers and directors-general, but we had not attached too much weight to them. By the same token we used to set up, for example, cooperatives for sailors or fishermen, and they [Arab Gulf states] would say that we are not telling the truth.

However, things have gone further now. Rulers and heads of some states have gathered together and made such an unfounded and incorrect statement and a number of heads of state have endorsed such a big claim. I think that ethnic instincts and language, geographic prejudices, or political ganging up in the world were the motive behind that improper action. [crowd chants in support]

Thank you very much. Please let me continue. This issue needs more explanation. Their timing was wrong. We do not expect personalities like those gentlemen to utter such false and corrupt remarks. You can see the circumstances for yourselves. Look at our [Muslims'] situation from East to West: In India, the attacks that are being launched on Muslims and their mosques. In Tajikistan, you can see the plight of Muslims for yourselves. In

Afghanistan, you are aware of their conditions. You have seen the plight of Muslims in Karabakh. You can see the condition of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the pressure and injustice they are suffering. These issues exist, more or less, in many African and Asian countries. These are indeed pains of the Islamic community. The most significant and recent of these, which is a very important event, has occurred in Israel and south Lebanon. This is a very bizarre event. The time has arrived for us to use this opportunity and make the world aware of the evil intentions of those Zionists: To use the event to disgrace those who support Israel. This is a historic opportunity. It is a great injustice, but an injustice which can be used to define the correct path and disclose the evil objectives of the Zionists. We find it strange that at a time when every one should be cooperating and taking advantage [of the situation] a group should come and overshadow it by presenting another one. In this respect, the issue is extremely painful. It would not have been like today had it happened three weeks ago. And again, it would not have been the same, were it to happen in three weeks' time. The present was not the right time for such remarks. Even if they had something pertinent to say and a reason for saying it, today was not the right time for it. Now, a reality is becoming apparent. Israel is currently negotiating peace with those countries that seek a compromise. My point is this: Israel wants to give land in return for peace. That is to say the spirit of the negotiations is this: That Israel should leave the parts in which the Arabs are living—Muslims and Christians, but mainly Muslims—and in return the Arabs should establish normal relations with Israel. This is something that the two sides are considering—that is if they are being truthful. Well, why would Israel commit such a crime if it had such an intention in mind. Expelling 400 people to the deserts in this winter, in the rain and snow, and in contravention of all principles. This action is very clear and can show that the Israelis are after something else at the negotiating table. They only want to break the Muslims' greatness, to sow discord in the Muslims' lines of resistance; to drag those who have thus far stayed away to the negotiating table. They want to portray Muslims as weak, to sow discord in their ranks to advance their expansionist aims.

This is what we have said. The incident that has occurred in these past days proves us right. You can see now that the United Nations has said that they [Palestinian deportees] must return. Big powers are saying they must return—they don't say it from the heart [batenan]. The Arabs have issued statements saying they must return and Israel sits there all alone saying: No they must not return. Its Supreme Court rules that they must not return; its parliament rules that they must not return; all of them say they must not return. What cheek! What impudence! It is defying the whole world!

Of course this is a cause for shame for those Arabs who have endorsed the talks. Perhaps, to reduce their embarrassment they have thought of creating a big problem to divert the world's attention. It is obvious that if some problem occurs in the Persian Gulf, the center which provides fuel, heating, and energy to the world, then all media and news centers will focus on this point. Eyes will be diverted from everything else and will turn in this direction. This is what the five or six persons ruling the southern Persian Gulf states have done. They have given this great service to their masters. And this is a most ugly act. That they should say something against a part of our territory, of course we become unhappy. But our greater unhappiness is not for that; it is more because this policy is a dangerous one. You create problems so that you put Israel's mind at rest. Just what Israel wants: so that all attention is drawn to this place. Well a spark here has a different meaning. This area is not the same as the rest. To draw everyone's attention to here so that they [the Israelis] can perpetrate any tyranny there! This is very bad.

Now this is the black spot of the issue. The main part of the issue is... [changes thought] I am really astonished. Of course I have said all this in my sermon in Arabic so that they can hear me directly. As for the point which pertains to us: What a mistake this is! Why do you repeat Saddam's mistakes? Saddam intended to turn the Arvand Rud into the Shatt al-Arab. How successful was he? Eight years of blood letting, destruction, and so many problems. Saddam wanted to turn Kuwait into Iraq's 20th, or 19th province. How successful was he? So much bloodletting, destruction, and degradation.

You yourselves know that Iran is stronger than the likes of you. How could you think that? To reach those [Persian Gulf] islands [referring to Abu Musa, Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb] one would have to cross a sea of blood [bara-ye rasidan-e be in jazayer bayad as darya-ye khun gozasht]. [Participants chant: God is the Greatest; Khamene'i is the leader; down with those who oppose the rule of the supreme jurisconsult; down with America, down with Israel; followed by one person chanting in Arabic: The time of humiliation is over; then participants chant three times: The time of humiliation is over]

In any case we once again advise, and speak in a friendly manner, and stress that the Islamic Republic of Iran's policy is not to create disturbance and insecurity in the region. You should not listen to those pretexts and utterings which disseminate from anti- Islamic arrogant powers. Consider the issue of [Iranian] arms procurement which has been raised. If we consider our population and territory and the situation we are in, and compare them with yours, we have bought less arms than each of you. That does not mean that we do not want to be powerful. We do not see power in those kind of weapons. We proved during our war that power lies somewhere else. Power lies with the faithful self-sacrificing forces who passed their test during the eight years.

Therefore we have no reason to leave the reconstruction of our country, which is our first priority, and spend our money on weapons. We purchase very little arms and you know it. The issue is only a pretext, other issues are also excuses. Do not not involve yourselves in such weird world issues. It would be to your own interest and in our interest, and it would be in the interest of the region that

countries of this region are friendly, peaceful, and cooperate with each other. We will say what we have to say. Now if you have some claims, of course we believe those claims are basically wrong, but we have asked you to come any time you wish [to talk]. First our delegation came to you and spoke to you, now you come so that we can hold talks and for us to see what you have to say. The path they have chosen is a satanic path. God Willing they themselves find that out and return.

You should come and let us cooperate further on issues which concern the world of Islam. Let us hold hands and unite to stop the rights of Muslims in Bosnia, Palestine, and other places being violated in such manner, and let us not waste the energy of the Islamic countries' forces on such issues.

I seek God's protection from the accursed Satan. In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Say: Oh ye that reject faith. I worship not that which ye worship. Nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye have been wont to worship. Nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your way, and to me mine. Peace be upon you. [Last graf in Arabic; from the Koran]

Arabic Sermon

NC2512133792 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Arabic 1105 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Friday prayers Arabic sermon by President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani in Tehran on 25 December—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. Praise be to God; God's prayers and peace be upon his prophet, the prophet's scion, and the pious worshipers.

Our Islamic world is going through difficult conditions; our nation is faced with many hardships. Whenever they can, the leaders of world atheism seek to restrict the tide of the Islamic revival and the Muslims' reawakening by creating problems and difficulties for them.

The latest unjust conspiracy was the cruel and barbaric expulsion of hundreds of Palestinian mujahidin by the Zionists. O Muslims, your deported brothers are cast out on the hills of the border strip in south Lebanon. In addition to the severe winter and the harsh living conditions, they are being subjected to the bullets of the Zionist enemy and its mercenary agents of the South Lebanese Army.

Taking into consideration the continuation of the so-called peace negotiations, we can say that this impudent Zionist measure indicates the evil intentions and ill-omened objectives the enemy leaders are pursuing. Strangely enough, many Arabs do not seek to face up to these catastrophes or learn lessons from them, thereby rectifying mistakes and taking the right course in the future.

More surprising is that, under the prevailing conditions, the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] are instigating a new wave of chauvinism [na'arat] against the Islamic Republic of Iran, instead of using the opportunity granted by the horrendous Israeli initiative to [words indistinct] and sensitize the world about the (Thostile) crimes against Islamic Iran.

The only result of the insignificant anti-Iranian issues the GCC discussed was covering up the Zionist crimes and all the crimes being committed these days by our enemies against Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tajikistan, India, and other parts of our Muslim world.

At a time when we have to unite to defend the oppressed mujahidin in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Palestine and dedicate all our efforts to rescuing the oppressed and those struck by catastrophes, how can the GCC leaders justify their initiatives, which run counter to Muslim interests, and their attempts to put pressure on the Islamic Republic, which provides a firm and long-standing backing for all the men of the Islamic jihad? Is there a justification for this other than its being an endeavor to serve the interests of world atheism, arrogance, and Zionism?

If you are asked why you kindled this chauvinism after 23 years [reference to earlier Iranian-Arab differences over Gulf islands] and in this critical situation, what will your reply be? How would you respond if you were asked why you did not learn the lessons provided by the irrational experience of the Ba'th rulers in Iraq, who tried in vain to propagate worldly and groundless allegations? Their fate was the catastrophe that destroyed Iraq and the region, as you saw with your own eyes. Why did you choose from among the important issues facing our Muslim world this insignificant and fabricated issue? How can these rulers respond to the questions posed by their citizens?

Finally, I pray to the omnipotent Almighty to give us the gift of rationalism and sensibility so that we can take the right course, distinguish the good from the bad, and observe the order of priorities under these difficult conditions.

Take warning, O ye with eyes. In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. Say O ye that reject faith, I worship not that which ye worship. Nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye have been wont to worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your way and to me mine. [Koranic verse]

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Security Council Condemns Gulf States Over Islands

LD2612183092 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1730 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Excerpts] The National Security Council met this afternoon, under President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and with the

participation of council members, political experts, and senior military commanders. During the meeting the latest reports from the region and occupied Palestine were reviewed. [passage omitted]

At this meeting the clumsy stance of some leaders of the Persian Gulf Arab states on the Iranian islands was discussed. The Islamic Republic of Iran seriously regrets and condemns such irresponsible stances. Without doubt the hands of foreigners are provoking these countries and have pulled them toward such non-Islamic and irrational stances.

It should be clear to all that no country will be allowed to look with greed at a part of the Islamic motherland. The eight years of sacred defense proved to the world that the brave and honorable people of Iran will not hesitate in defending their sovereignty and guarding the territorial integrity of Islamic Iran.

More on Council

NC2712065992 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] The Supreme National Security Council [SNSC] met with President Hashemi-Rafsanjani in the chair and with the participation of its members, political advisers, and high-ranking military commanders.

During this meeting the SNSC studied the latest reports on the situation in the region and in occupied Palestine. It strongly condemned the bestial and inhuman act by the Zionist regime in deporting Palestinians, saying: The United Nations should decisively carry out its responsibility in defending human rights and international laws, and should not be content with just issuing resolutions.

The SNSC described the continuation of massacres and bloodshed in Tajikistan and the dimensions of the violence in that country as extremely disturbing, stating: The fact that after being liberated from 70 years of Marxist suppression the people in this region once again are being attacked and deprived of their political and human rights because of their love for Islam is extremely tragic and dangerous.

The SNSC expressed regrets over the irresponsible stance by some Arab heads of state on the Iranian islands in the Persian Gulf. Condemning this stance, the SNSC stated: The Islamic Republic of Iran definitely considers foreign hands to be fomenting these governments in adopting such non-Islamic and illogical stances.

The SNSC stated: It should be clear to everyone that no country will be able to covet any part of the territory of Islamic Iran after eight years of sacred defense proved to the world that the brave Iranian nation will not hesitate to defend Iran's sovereignty and safeguard its territorial integrity.

Foreign Ministry Criticizes GCC Statement

LD2312173592 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Our country's Foreign Ministry has issued a communique on the final statement of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council Summit session.

Referring to the Islamic Republic of Iran's [IRI] policy on the expansion and development of all-round ties with the southern Persian Gulf littoral Muslim states and other neighbors, the communique stresses the IRI's national will and principles of Islamic thought in defense of its territorial integrity, national honor, and sovereignty and says: It is a source of great surprise and regret that despite the clarity of this reality, the leaders of the southern Persian Gulf littoral states have ignored the demands and interests of regional nations and the Muslim nations of the world, which now more than ever are subjected to the aggression of arrogant and Zionist powers in Bosnia-Hercegovina, occupied Palestine, and other Islamic regions. They have failed to properly understand the IRI's positive moves regarding Abu Musa island, which are based on goodwill and respect for existing understandings. They have embarked on adopting an irresponsible stand concerning Iranian islands and have taken the path of demands by hegemonist powers for depicting the vital and strategic interests of the Persian Gulf as unstable.

As reiterated many times, the IRI considers the bankrupt method of reviving baseless territorial claims—which were put forward through Iraq's aggression against Iran and, subsequently, Kuwait—to be the root of the lack of security as well as instability in the region and believes the basis of the behavior and posture of the states in the region must be respect for territorial integrity and existing borders.

The IRI considers the statement by the leaders of the southern Persian Gulf states to lack credibility and to be worthless and believes the consequences of such irresponsible posturing to affect those states. The IRI declares that stability and tranquility in the Persian Gulf can only be achieved through mutual understanding and cooperation and will respond positively to moves by the regional states toward strengthening trust, respect for sovereignty, and territorial integrity, as well as their undertaking to follow the principles of good-neighborliness.

Paper Warns UAE of 'Limits' of Self-Restraint

LD2612091292 Tehran IRNA in English 0852 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tehran, Dec., 26, IRNA—The United Arab Emirates (UAE) authorities should realize that Iran's self-restraint has certain limits, said the morning daily 'TEHRAN TIMES' here Saturday editorializing on the final statement of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council's [PGCC] summit meet last Wednesday. Leaders of the six Islamic states attending the PGCC meeting in the

UAE capital last week, confirmed the "unfounded" claims of the UAE over the three Iranian Persian Gulf islands of Abu Musa, the Greater and the Lesser Tunbs.

The claims over sovereignty of the islands started when the foreign forces present in the Persian Gulf needed a new "pretext to justify their illegal presence in the area," said the daily. It added by that time Iraq was a "plausible excuse" for the foreign states to continue to keep their forces in the Persian Gulf waters.

Since Tehran felt responsible towards preservation of a "peaceful" atmosphere in the region, she adopted a very "restrained" attitude towards the affair and simply announced that Abu Dhabi's claims over the islands were totally "unfounded and that as for Abu Musa island, the 1971 agreement was still in force," said the paper.

The paper regretted that the UAE authorities have taken advantage of the Iranian restrained diplomacy, and tried to kick up a large-scale diplomatic crisis with the overt support of the ex-colonial powers and even took their complaint to the United Nations.

It called as "childish" the idea of Abu Dhabi's officials that Tehran would always "refrain" from responding to the "blows" inflicted by them, though their blows were so "weak" that they were scarcely noticeable. The daily summed up by warning the UAE authorities of Iran's reaction towards the issue and said they would smart for their "reckless policies if Iran one day decides to pay them blow for blow."

Majles Deputy Assails U.S. Role, GCC Move

LD2712115892 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran Second Program Network in Persian 0445 GMT 27 Dec 92

[First pre-agenda speech by Kashmar Deputy Mohammad Reza Khabaz to the Majles in Tehran—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Once again the treacherous hand of world arrogance has emerged, this time from the sleeve of the savage Hindus, and submerged the world of Islam in deep sorrow.

The utterly barbaric act of the Hindus, which was engineered and put into practice through a conspiracy hatched by the Great Satan, the criminal America, has not only awakened the free Muslim people of the world, but has also aggravated their wrath. We hope that this will, in the not too distant future, bring about the Islamic resolve of more than 1 billion world Muslims so that they may succeed, under the auspices of pure Muhammadan Islam, in smashing the hollow might of the pharaoh of the age. Thus they will be able to remove the yoke of slavery and colonialism from their necks and taste the sweetness of an honorable life under the banner of the Koran.

The worn-out weapon of old colonialism—that is, divide and rule—still holds sway in a world devoid of moral conscience. More than others, divided Muslims are prey to this destructive conspiracy, so much so that each day a Muslim country is attacked and Islamic communities are disheartened by the use of baseless labels.

One day on the pretext of terrorism, another day on the pretext of the violation of human rights, the West brings one of the Islamic states into question. Recently, through its control over the horns of its own propaganda, it has made Iranian Muslims the target of its cunning attacks and claimed that human rights are being violated in Iran.

It is most surprising. America, whose hands are stained with the blood of innocent oppressed people of the world, not only plunders the national resources of the world and enjoys the fruits of its exploitation of the Third World, but is the main perpetrator of bloodshed in the world—such as the devastating war in Bosnia- Hercegovina, oppressed Palestine, tyrannized Afghanistan, unprotected Iraq, wretched Somalia, and the entire world of Islam in general—now claims to be the defender of human rights.

Another of the conspiracies of the Great Satan is the out-of-tune instrument which is being played by the leaders of the six Persian Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states. Their desperate move is designed to divert public attention from the massacre of [loss of reception]

Majles Speaker Comments

LD2712125592 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] During today's Majles session a letter from Majles representatives on the recent resolution of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] was read out. Part of the letter says: We, the Islamic Consultative Majles representatives, express our deep regret that our Muslim Arab brothers in the Persian Gulf are in such a state of somnolence and negligence and we condemn their improper and thoughtless resolution.

In their letter the Majles representatives invite the leaders of the Persian Gulf Arab states to take a politically thoughtful and serious approach. They are asked, instead of issuing such resolutions—which have no effect but to create discord among Muslim lines and bring satisfaction to international Zionism—to think of friendship and cooperation and tread the path of a united Islamic front against the enemies who are targeting their conspiracies against the world of Islam from all directions.

During today's open session, Majles Speaker 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri said the recent stance of the leaders of the member countries of the GCC on the Iranian islands was an improper and illogical move. He stressed that the Iranian nation has never hesitated and never will hesitate to defend its own territory. He added: We will shake the hand of anyone, apart from America, Israel, and South Africa, who wants to establish relations with us on

the basis of good will, but we will also cut off any hand which is stretched out to violate the smallest corner of our land.

Nateq-Nuri referred to the hegemonist nature of America and said: Americans do not intend to develop the region for us and you. They come to the region in order to plunder it and it is up to the regional countries to deploy, more than ever, their wisdom and unity to develop and maintain the security of the region.

Addressing the leaders of the southern Arab littoral states of the Persian Gulf, the head of the legislative power said: Let us think of the oppressed Muslims who are being expelled from their homeland. We have to cry out in support of the oppressed. He termed the Zionist regime's expulsion of the Muslim Palestinians from the occupied territories as a barbaric move and said it clearly violated the basic rights of human beings. He also criticized the silence and indifference of the leaders of some Arab countries, the United Nations, and the Security Council.

Nateq-Nuri praised the struggling Muslims, who, despite the problems they face, continue to resist and struggle against the Zionist regime's savage actions. He stressed that it is up to the United Nations and the Security Council to support these devoted and struggling human beings in their effort to return to their own homeland and to condemn the Zionist regime.

Clinton Hint on Policy Toward China Viewed

LD2612213192 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1102 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] After recent remarks by U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton with regard to putting pressure on China, tension between the two countries increased. Beside opposing George Bush's decision to lift Washington's arms embargo against China, Clinton accused Beijing's leaders of despotism and made the continuation of commercial ties with China conditional on Beijing's performance with regard to human rights.

After those remarks, China in return warned the U.S. Administration against using the lever of its $15-billion trade balance deficit with China in order to force Beijing to improve human rights in China.

Although the raising of the human rights subject, claimed by Washington, is not unprecedented for Beijing statesmen, for Beijing the mooting of the subject by Clinton—who will be assuming power in Washington at the beginning of the new Christian year—is tantamount to a declaration of his policy concerning China.

At the end of 1970—that is concurrent with the coming to power of Deng Xiaoping—China embarked on relative economic and social reforms regarding its economic objectives, which revolve around the axis of new industries and the acquisition of advanced technology. But following the swift international events and the disintegration of the former USSR, China has come under further pressure to bring about a change in its internal system and for reforms called for by the West.

Beijing, which has made efforts to end its isolation in the past two years, has always regarded its relations with Western countries, especially America, with caution and deliberation, and has tried to change, taking into account its circumstances and national interests. This is something that was greatly emphasized during the Chinese Communist Party's 14th Congress.

The fact that at present the viewpoint of Beijing's statesmen and the West, especially America, differs regarding change in China is not doubted. With regard to change in China, America and its allies have got their eyes on its vast, 1-billion strong market, whereas Beijing hopes to attain advanced technology and a balanced economic-social development without the infrastructure of Chinese society facing a disintegration of the kind which befell the former USSR.

The difference between America and China is just that. Many political experts believe that this difference of opinion will assume a new dimension during Clinton's presidency. Moreover, China's opposition to the new world order and Washington's new security moves in Asia, as well as Beijing's insistence that America uses the human rights lever against those countries whose authorities think of national interests as opposed to the interests of the big powers, are some of the other issues which have placed China in confrontation America.

There is no doubt that until the start of Bill Clinton's presidency, on 20 January, it cannot be known for sure what policy America will adopt toward China. At the moment Western and the Pacific political circles wonder whether the remarks on China by the new U.S. statesmen are the beginning of a new cold war in this region.

UN Envoy Says Country Willing To Join GATT

LD2812102992 Tehran IRNA in English 0947 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 28, IRNA—Iran's ambassador to the Geneva based office of the United Nations Sirous Nasseri voiced Tehran's willingness to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Nasseri made the remark in a meeting with the Director General of GATT Arthur Dunckle, according to the Tehran press today. They did not mention the date of the meeting.

He added that Iran had launched new economic activities to change tariffs, step up non-oil exports and create international free trade and economic zones with other countries including the GATT members.

Nasseri called for GATT's cooperation to accelerate Iran's joining the agreement.

Welcoming Tehran's willingness to join GATT, Dunckle referred to the recent economic reforms in the Islamic Republic and said joining the agreement would be in Iran's interest.

He stressed that this would be effective in Iran's future trade ties with its major partners especially in regional economic cooperation. He said GATT was ready to cooperate with Iran to speed up its membership by sending experts and holding seminars to inform the relevant Iranian organisations familiar with the GATT regulations.

The two sides are to work out the issue during coming weeks, the press reports said.